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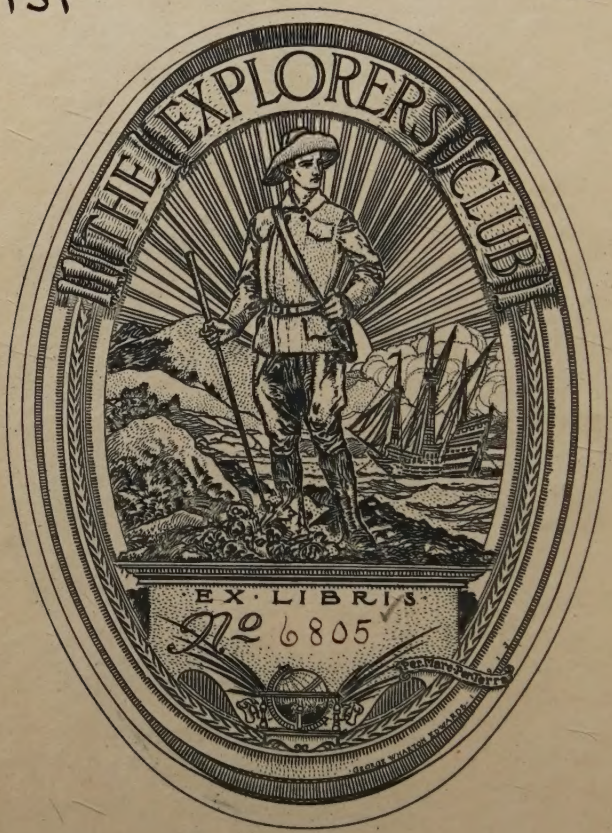

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MEMORIAS ANTIGUAS HISTORIALES DEL PERU.

SECOND SERIES.

No. XLVIII.

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Photo by courtesy of Mrs. Lewis Emery, Jr.

THE STATUE known as "THE BISHOP" or "THE FRIAR."

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MEMORIAS ANTIGUAS HISTORIALES DEL PERU.

BY

FERNANDO MONTESINOS.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS, M.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY THE LATE

SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM,
K.C.B., F.R.S.

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FOREWORD.

When this volume was on the point of being printed off, Mr. T. A. Joyce, of the British Museum, discovered among the literary papers of the late Sir Clements Markham a translation of the same work, ready, with Introduction, for the press.

With characteristic abnegation and modesty Sir Clements had put on one side his own labours whilst recommending the Council of the Hakluyt Society to issue the translation of a younger man.

On this being communicated to Mr. Means he eagerly embraced the idea of having Sir Clements' Introduction placed before his own, and this has been done.

On pp. xlviii–li is given a list of words in the names of Kings and Incas in Montesinos, and on p. lii a list of Quichua words, both compiled by Sir Clements Markham.

The consequent delay in the issue of the volume has, it is hoped, been amply compensated for by the additions.

J. de V.

INTRODUCTION

BY

SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S.

I.

Lives of Montesinos and Blas Valera.

With a Discussion of their Works.

FERNANDO MONTESINOS, whose family was from the mountains of Leon, was born at Osuna. He was in holy orders and a licentiate in canon law. He was in America in 1628, for in that year he went up the River Chagres. He probably went to Peru in the train of the new Viceroy, Count of Chinchon, in the same year. He was first Secretary to the Bishop of Truxillo, and Rector of the Seminary. Thence he went as Cura to Potosi, but soon resigned that post, and devoted himself to mining and historical researches. He was "Visitador" twice, and explored all parts of Peru. In 1634 he was at Arica, and from 1636 to 1639 he lived at Lima. There is a record that his nephew Francisco de Montesinos made a journey into the Tarma *montaña* with Pedro Bo'horques, and took out some wild Indians, who he brought to his uncle's house at Lima in 1637. In 1639 Montesinos wrote an account of the *Auto de Fé* in Lima, and the year before he printed a book on the working of metals. The last date which shows Montesinos to have been in

Peru is 1642, in which year he made a journey to Caxamarca. When he returned to Spain he became Cura of Campana, a village ten leagues from Seville. In 1644 he sent in a Memorial to the King, praying for some dignity as a reward for his services, with which he might live quietly at Lima or Mexico.[1]

Muñoz, searching for materials for his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, found (in the convent of San José, barefooted Mercedarios at Seville), three manuscript volumes of the work of Montesinos ; but he did not have copies made then. Eventually, through the Minister Don Josef Galvez, copies of the original MSS. came into the possession of Muñoz. Ternaux Compano got a copy, which he published in French in 1840.

At the time of the Americanist Exhibition at Madrid, the *Ministro de Fomento* caused several *codices* from the university library at Seville to be sent to Madrid. Among them was a 4to. volume of 215 leaves containing the *Ophir de España, Memorias historiales y politicas del Peru* in three books. The first (76 leaves) is almost entirely in the handwriting of the author, but it is incomplete. The second (65 leaves), not in the author's handwriting, is a copy by a very bad scribe : but it is complete. The third (74 leaves) is incomplete.

It is the second book which Don Marcos Jimenes de la Espada published at Madrid in 1882, containing the long list of Peruvian Kings from which the present translation into English was made. There was much confusion and mis-spelling by the copying clerk, which the

[1] This Memorial is in the British Museum. Notices of Montesinos in *Apuntos para una biblioteca Española sobre mineralogia*, t. I., pp. 482–485. The few facts have been gathered together by Don Pablo Patron, in his article "La veracidad de Montesinos," in the *Revista Historica de Lima*, Tom. I., Trimestre III. p. 289 (Lima, 1906). See also the dedication to the edition of M. J. de la Espada (Madrid, 1882).

Spanish Editor has, for the most part, put right with much erudition and skill. There is a MS. of the first book in the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Madrid, *MS. — J.*, 189, *fol.* But it has not been edited.

The long list of Kings given by Montesinos did not originate with him, but was known to earlier writers long before his time. The anonymous Jesuit, writing in 1591, fifty years before, mentions PIRUA PACARIC MANCO as the first King, and the Inca PACHACUTI as the ninth of that name. Acosta (V., cap. vi.) mentions Inca Rocca as the first, as does Montesinos.

In an important article published in the *Revista Historica de Lima* (t. II., trim. II., p. 184, Lima 1907). Dr. Gonzalez de la Rosa holds that the anonymous Jesuit, whose MS. was first published by M. J. de la Espada in 1879 was identical with the Jesuit Blas Valera, so often quoted by Garcilasso. The works of Blas Valera were :—

I. *Historia del Peru* in Latin, partly destroyed at the sack of Cadiz, 1596. What was saved was given to Garcilasso de la Vega.

II. *Vocabulario Historico del Peru* down to H, which Oliva consulted, and was brought from Cadiz to the College of La Paz in 1604, by the Procurador of the Jesuits, P. Diego Torres.

III. *De los Indios del Peru sus contumbres y pacificacion.* According to Antonio and Leon Pinelo, Dr. de la Rosa holds that this is the work or part of it, published in 1879, as by an anonymous Jesuit.

Garcilasso says that the fragments of Blas Valera were given to him by Father Maldonado de Saavedra, also a Jesuit, a native of Seville, who in 1600 was living at Cordova. Dr. de la Rosa does not believe that it was

only a torn fragment that was taken from Cadiz, but the whole work, for the Earl of Essex allowed the Jesuits to depart *with their papers and writings*. Blas Valera must, therefore, have taken all his MSS. with him, and Garcilasso received the history entire, and not, as he says, in fragments.

This all leads to the question of the long list of Kings given by Montesinos. Padre Oliva tells the story of the *Vocabulario Historico* by Blas Valera having been deposited in the library of the college at La Paz in 1600. Oliva gave extracts from it. Montesinos was allowed to copy the list of Kings by the Jesuits at La Paz; he appropriated the list without any acknowledgment. Oliva had also seen the MS.

Varones Illustres 1631.

De la Compania de Jesus.

Valera (in Garcilasso) mentions one of the Kings in the Montesinos list, CAPAC RAYMI AMAUTA. The anonymous Jesuit mentions PACHACUTI VII. This is a proof, which is indisputable, that Montesinos merely copied a list which was by an author long before his time, and derived from Amautas two generations at least older than any that he knew. Another proof that Blas Valera was the author of the list is furnished by the fact that the account of the calendar in Montesinos is the same as that given by Blas Valera, as quoted by Garcilasso.

The bibliographer, Leon Pinelo, in 1629, announced that Blas Valera wrote a work entitled *De los Indios del Peru sus costumbres y pacificacion:* which was said to have been lost when the English took Cadiz. Antonio repeats this. The manuscript by the "anonymous Jesuit" of M. J. de la Espada is now in the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Madrid. This Jesuit is identified by Dr. de la Rosa as Blas Valera, for he knew of the list of Kings, mentioning RAYMI as 39th King, and the Inca PACHACUTI as the 9th of that name. Also the names of PIRUA and ILLA

TISI UIRACOCHA, and PACARI MANCO are the same in Montesinos and the anonymous Jesuit, and nowhere else. The date of the work of the latter is shown to be 1591, because he says that, when he wrote, it was twelve years since the Jesuits had a mission in Chachapoyas, and Oliva tells us that the Jesuits left that mission in 1578.

Another proof of the identity is that the anonymous Jesuit and Valera (in Garcilasso) both deny the statement of Polo de Ondegardo about human sacrifices, in almost the same words.

It is thus established that Blas Valera was the anonymous Jesuit, and that he obtained the list of Kings from the Amautas of an early generation, which was copied, without acknowledgment, many years afterwards by Montesinos.

Blas Valera was the son of Alonso de Valera, a soldier of the Conquest, by a Peruvian lady, and was born near Caxamarca in about 1540. He was brought up at Caxamarca and afterwards at Truxillo, where he learnt Latin, until his twentieth year. He then went to Lima, where, in 1568, at the age of 28, he took orders and became a Jesuit. In 1571 he was sent to Cuzco as a catechist, with the founders of the new college in that city, namely Father Barcena and others. He was there probably for at least ten years, and in 1582 he went on to the Jesuit mission at Juli, visiting Copacabana, La Paz, and other places in that region of Titicaca. Later he was in the northern part of Peru, and at Quito. In about 1591 he embarked at Callao for Cadiz, and was at Cadiz in 1596, when it was taken by the English under the Earl of Essex. Blas Valera died soon afterwards (1598 ?), aged about 60.

Blas Valera had qualifications and advantages possessed by no other writer. Garcilasso knew Quichua, but he was

a child and only 20 when he went to Spain, and it was after an interval of forty years that he thought of writing about his native country. Blas Valera, like Garcilasso, was half a Peruvian, and Quichua was his native language. But, unlike Garcilasso, instead of going to Spain when he was 20, he worked for Peru and its people for thirty years, devoting himself to a study of the history, literature, and ancient customs of his countrymen, receiving their records and legends from the older Amautas and Quipucamayocs who could remember the Inca rule, and their lists of Kings, and possessing a perfect mastery of the language.

Others wrote with a very slight or no knowledge of the language and people, and after a much shorter preparation for what they undertook.

A preliminary discussion of the author was necessary, before proceeding to examine this important list of ancient Peruvian Kings compiled by Blas Valera, a most competent expert, from the records of the Amautas and Quipucamayocs who were living before the Spanish Conquest. Blas Valera mentions the following authorities :—

Peruvians.

Quipos of Juan Collque
Quipos of Cuzco
Quipos of Chincha
Quipos of Conti-suyu
Quipos of Tarma
Quipos of Pachacama
Quipos of Sacsahuana
Don Luis Inca, *Relacion* in Quichua
Don Sebastian Nina Villoa, Lord of Huarochiri
Don Diego Roco Inca

Spaniards.

Fray Marcos Jofré, *Itinerario* in Latin
Francisco Chavres, friend of Inca Titu Atauchi, *Relacion*
Ludovico Alvarez, of Huanuco, *De titules Renii Peruani*
P. Montoya, *Anotaciones sobre la lengua, y vocabulario* (Lima, 1586)
Lic. Falcon contra Polo y Leon, *Apologia pro Indis*
F. Melchor Hernandez, *Anotaciones de la lengua*
F. Domingo de Santo Lomas

II.

Analysis and Discussion of the List of Peruvian Kings.

The list of Peruvian Kings is thus found to be authentic to the extent of having been made by Blas Valera, the best of all the authorities, from the ancient *quipu* records expounded by Amautas and Quipucamayocs, who had charge of those records previous to the Spanish Conquest. This origin certainly gives importance to the list, and entitles it to serious consideration.

There is nothing improbable in such records having been preserved. Other races, chiefly Asiatic, in the same stages of civilization, preserved genealogies forming long lists. The Peruvian records show that they were similarly inclined, and this is confirmed to some extent, by the numerous words in Quichua, to distinguish relationships. The chronology, as shown by the length of reigns, is not exaggerated, not nearly so much so as even in the Sarmiento History. It gives an average period of 25 to 27 years for each reign. It is true that if the whole represents a succession of fathers and sons, it would take us back 2,200 to 3,000 years. But if the average deductions are made for successions of brothers or cousins, the date may reasonably be brought down a good many generations; by a calculation based on fatalities of other dynasties, to A.D. 200, or 1,330 years before the Spanish Conquest; among which the hundred Kings and Incas must be divided, giving only 15 years for a generation: 40 more names must be disposed of, to give a generation of 20 years. This may be done by eliminating many names which are repeated, or are nothing more than names. We then have a list of 60 Kings, commencing in

about the second century of our era. It probably brings the earlier Kings into the Megalithic Age.

The names given for God by Valera, as used by the ancient Peruvians, are also given by some others of the best authorities. They are ILLA TICI UIRA COCHA. The first word means light. TICI is the foundation of things, or beginning. UIRA is, we are told, a corruption of PIRUA, meaning the depository or storehouse of creation. COCHA, a lake, but here an abyss, to which is occasionally added an attribute, the word YACHACHIC or the Teacher. TICI and UIRA appear to be archaic. The first King was PIRUA. The whole meaning would be "The splendour, the foundation, the creator, the infinite"—The Supreme Being. The words show the sublimity of thought attained by the ancient Peruvians in their conception of a Supreme Being, the great infinite cause, the universal principle, light of the world.

An examination of the names of Kings in the Valera list shows that they are composed of 47 Quichua words, 8 without meaning in Quicha, and 5 or 6 probably corrupt.

Quichua.	English.	Quichua.	English.
TITU ..	August	HUALPA ..	Fowl
ATAUCHI ..	Prince	CUIS.. ..	Guinea Pig
HUILLA ..	Councillor	QUITU ..	Dove
RANTI ..	Deputy	AMARU ..	Serpent
TUPAC ..	Princely	HINAC ..	So
APU.. ..	Chief	HUANACAURI	Name of a sacred Huaca near Cuzco
PAHACUTI ..	Reformer		
UILCA ..	Sacred	MAYTA ..	Where he goes
AMAUTA ..	Wise	HUAMPAR ..	Mitre
SINCHI ..	Strong	TINYA ..	Sort of guitar
TACCA ..	Scatterer	QUICHE ..	Song
ALLI ..	Good		
CUSI.. ..	Joy	INTI.. ..	Sun
		ILLA.. ..	Light
URCO ..	Male	NINA ..	Fire
AUQUI ..	Father	CURI ..	Gold
HUAYNA ..	Youth	QUISPE ..	Crystal
HUARMA ..	Boy	MARCA ..	Hill
		PACARI ..	Dawn
HUAMAN ..	Falcon	SAYHUA ..	Land mark

Quichua.	English.	Quichua.	English.
Curcu ..	Beam	Huquiz ..	Intercalary days named after a King
Tica ..	Brick	Yupanqui ..	"You may count" as brave, wise, etc.
Sayri ..	Tobacco	Hullca Nota	Name after the site of a battle
Lloque ..	Left-handed	Cozque ..	To level, whence the name of Cuzco
Yahuar Huacac	Weeping blood	Huascar ..	Name of a village near Cuzco
Uira Cocha	Name of the Deity		
Raymi ..	Festival and months named after a King		

Cauri Cayo Huispa Toto	Ccaura, a llama in Aymara Probably corrupt Cayu, a "foot" in Aymara	Marasco ..	A tribe called Maras followed the four brothers from Paccari - tampu, co-participle, reflective form
Cauri ..	Part of word Huana-cauri	Cuycusa ..	Another such tribe, perhaps Cayo refers to it. Cay= this.

Names of Kings which have no meaning in Quichua.

Name.	Remarks.
Ayar ..	A name applied to the four brethren of the Paccari-tampu myth.
Pirua ..	A word in the name of the Deity, probably archaic, corrupted to Uira. It was used by the 1st King, and by the 3rd and 10th. In modern times the word is used for a granary.
Manco ..	Used by the 2nd King and nine others, and by the 13th Inca.
Rocca ..	Name of the 89th King and of the 1st Inca. There is a word Ruccu, meaning a very old man, but the connection is doubtful.
Paullu ..	Name of the 16th, 22nd, 25th and 73rd Kings, and of a younger son of the 11th Inca. Sarmiento mentions a town called Paulo, near Cuzco, p. 74.
Raymi ..	The 37th, 56th and 73rd Kings had this name. It is stated that the name was given to two months, in honour of the first of these Kings.
Huquiz ..	Name of the 49th and 57th Kings. The first is said to have discovered the proper way of reckoning the intercalary days, and they named them in his honour. The word has no meaning in Quichua.

The name PACHACUTI requires special notice. It was a special title given to the 4th, 14th, 24th, 30th, 42nd, 62nd, 78th and 90th Kings, and to the 9th Inca. PACHA means the earth, universe, also time. CUTINI, I change back, turn, or reform ; reformer of time, or of the world. The 4th King received the title because in his time 1,000 years were completed since the Deluge, according to Montesinos ; the 14th because he was a great reformer ; the 24th, also a reformer ; the 30th, because he reformed the calendar ; the 42nd, because 2,000 years from the Deluge were completed ; the 62nd because 3,000 years were completed ; the 78th because 3,500 years were completed ; and the 90th was the 8th PACHACUTI, so called because 4,000 years were completed. PACHACUTI IX was the 9th and the greatest of the Incas. It is the mention of this number by the anonymous Jesuit (Blas Valera) which is one proof that the list was known long before the time of Montesinos.

It has been suggested that the PIRUA or first dynasty ended with the 16th King, and that a new AMAUTA dynasty commenced with the 17th. Lopez makes the suggestion because the successor of the 16th King is only called his heir, and not, as heretofore, his son and heir. The name AMAUTA does not occur among the 16 first Kings. It occurs 13 times in the supposed AMAUTA dynasty of 46 Kings. In the third or decadent dynasty of 27 Kings it occurs once. It was the name of the wise or learned men.

From this examination it is found that the great majority of words in the names of the early Kings have meanings in Quichua, while 7, although they have no meaning, and appear to be archaic, have a Quichuan sound. We should have to believe that this language was fully formed, as it is now, nearly 2,000 years ago.

It may well be, however, that, in handing down names from one generation to another, their forms were altered by the Amautas to suit the language as it was in their time.

III.

An Examination of the way in which Montesinos used and manipulated the Valera List.

Montesinos was about twelve years in Peru, occupied in the work of his clerical profession, in mining studies and operations, and in travelling. He seems to have made a copy of the Valera List of Kings, probably at Chuquiapu (La Paz) with the notes ; and no doubt this led him to the idea of writing a history of his own, based on the list. He constantly alludes to Amautas, consulted by him ; but if he really consulted any, they were a century off the time when Inca rule existed, and records were efficiently kept. Montesinos was disqualified for such a task by strong preconceived opinions. He had a theory about Noah and his descendant Ophir having colonized Peru with Armenians. Chronology, in his hands, is based on the imaginary date of the Deluge held, in his days, by the Romish Church. Starting with all this nonsense, he fell in with the List of Kings, and he tried to turn it into what he thought was history, by adding events taken from other chronicles, to the bare record of the names of Kings. For in his time several such works had already been published.[1] His very uncritical mind also unfitted him for what he undertook.

Noah
|
Shem
|
Arphaxad
|
Salah
|
Eber
|
Yoktan
|
Ophir.

It is necessary to follow him, as cursorily as possible, in his manipulation of the list. He begins by calling

[1] Gomara, Zararte, Cieza de Leon, Polo de Ondegardo, Garcilasso, Arriaga.

Ophir the grandson of Noah. Ophir was Noah's great-great-great-great-grandson, a very different thing, and making it impossible that the patriarch could have accompanied his descendant to Peru, as Montesinos suggests. Then the story of the Paccari-tampu myth is told, the version of Blas Valera, agreeing fairly well with other versions. The successful brother, Tupac Azar Uchu, received the name of PIRUA PACARI MANCO. In this first chapter we have the nonsense about Noah and the Armenians by Montesinos, and the important Paccari-tampu myth by Valera. The account of the reign of Manco Capac in the second chapter is, in my opinion, all by Valera.

In Chapter IV the hand of Montesinos is seen in the note about the use of paper and writing, and in Chapter XV (p. 68) on the loss of the art of writing. These statements betray the credulous and uncritical mind of the literary pirate. The account of the building of Cuzco (p. 21) is from the pen of Valera.

The next proceeding of Montesinos is to take the whole story of the Chanca war, which belongs to the reign of the great Inca Yupanqui Pachacuti in the fourteenth century, and insert it as an event of the fourth and fifth Kings, who are placed by him in a century soon after the Deluge. This is the Montesinos way of making history ; see Chapter V (pp. 22 to 30). All the measures attributed to this very ancient King belong to a much later date, and to the time of the Incas. The story of the giants at Santa Elena is told by Cieza de Leon and others, and may have been repeated either by Valera or Montesinos (Chapter IX).

The explanation of the names of the Deity (pp. 54, 55) is undoubtedly from the pen of Valera.

I confidently attribute the very interesting account of the rise to power of Rocca, the first Inca, to Blas Valera

(Chapters XVI and XVII). He is supported in this version of the history by Acosta and others, who certainly refer to a revolution at that time.

It is now seen what Montesinos did. Seeing the long list of ancient Kings without any events, and having read the history of the Incas, he took the Inca events and regulations and distributed them among the reigns of the ancient Kings. But when he came to write of the Incas he was in a difficulty. He got over it in a way, by omitting the greatest of the Incas, with his mighty deeds and enlightened reforms, altogether; for he had given them all to one of the earliest Kings near the time of the Deluge. His accounts of later events down to the death of Huayna Capac are fairly well told, but largely attributed to the wrong Incas.

Montesinos gives a version of the way in which Chile became a part of the Inca empire, which is interesting and probable.

We may wish that Montesinos had given us the unadulterated Valera list; but a tribute of thanks is due to his memory for having preserved it for posterity, even in its present form.

C. R. M.

INTRODUCTION.

A Discussion of the Significance of the "Memorias Historiales" *of Father Fernando Montesinos.*

PROBABLY no one of the older writers and historians who have treated of ancient America has received more abuse at the hands of later critics than has Father Fernando Montesinos. Properly to appraise the true value of his historical writings about ancient Peru one must examine at considerable length all that modern scholars, most of whom are almost unknown to the English-speaking world, have said concerning him.[1]

Before saying anything about Montesinos himself, we must consider briefly two other writers on the same subject. These were Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca, and Father Blas Valera. Valera was born either in Cajamarca or in Chachapoyas (Peru) between 1538 and

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[1] In the Library of Yale University, at New Haven, Connecticut, they have two MS. volumes containing the writings of Fernando Montesinos. One of these volumes contains Parts One and Two of the *Memorias antiguas historiales del Peru.* Part One is mainly made up of Biblical and astrological matter of no value. Whatever good material it has seems to have been duplicated in Part Two. The MSS. were made, to judge by the bookplates, for the Abbé C. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg, the great authority on the Maya of Yucatan. Later they were the property of Alphonse Pinart, and they have been in the Yale Library since 1888

1540. He was a natural son of Don Luis de Valera and of an Indian woman whose name, after baptism, was Francisca Perez. Luis de Valera was a man of more or less importance during the Conquest ; he was at Cajamarca at the time of the sad events which led to the treacherous assassination of the Inca Atahualpa by Pizarro's men ; and he was a close friend of Francisco de Chaves, one of the most important men in the colony, author of a history which, after his murder in 1541, was lost. The mother of Blas Valera had been connected with the court of the late sovereign of Peru, and at the time of his bringing-up she lived in Cajamarca, which was still full of memories of the Inca period. Blas Valera lived in Cajamarca and Trujillo till 1568. In that year the first Jesuits to come to the Colony arrived in Lima, and very shortly afterwards Blas Valera made his way to the capital and became one of them. The deed of his reception into the Society of Jesus is preserved, in copy, at Lima. In 1571 he was sent to Cuzco to teach and do missionary work among the Indians, for, in addition to knowing Latin perfectly, he was deeply versed in both Quichua and Colla (Aimará), the two chief Indian languages of the highlands. About 1582 he moved to Juli on the western shore of Lake Titicaca. The Jesuits had an important establishment there. From Juli Father Valera made a number of trips through the country. We know that he went to the shrine of Copacavana, and it is likely that he went to La Paz. In 1591 he sailed from Callao for Spain. He was in Cadiz in 1596 when that city was sacked by the Earl of Essex, and he died soon after. His works are at least three in number : (A) *La Historia del Peru* (in Latin) ; (B) *Vocabulario histórico del Perú ;* (C) *De los indios del Perû, sus costumbres y pacificación.*

The first of these is lost. The second was taken from Cadiz to Chuqui-apu (La Paz) in 1604 by a Jesuit official and was later lost. The third was finally published in Madrid by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada who, however, did not know the name of the author, a point which was cleared up years afterwards by Manuel Gonzalez de la Rosa.

Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca, was likewise a mestizo. He was the natural son of Garcilaso de la Vega y Sotomayor Suarez and of the Princess Isabel Yupanqui Inca. The princess was the niece of Huayna Capac and granddaughter of Tupac Yupanqui Inca sovereign of Peru. All through his boyhood the young Inca Garcilaso lived in an atmosphere replete with remembrances of the time when his mother's people were still lords over all the Andes. He knew Quichua, his mother's tongue, very well. It is quite clear from his writings that he travelled about considerably, going to Lima about 1550, and accompanying his father on various visits to his estates in different parts of the country. Thus inevitably he absorbed a great deal of information about Peru and its ancient inhabitants. Especially valuable in this respect was his life at home in Cuzco, because the Princess' relatives were wont frequently to visit her and to talk about old days. About 1560—1561 he went to Spain, his father having died just before. He was very poor, and his haughty relatives in Spain would do but little for him. Finally one of them adopted him, and after that he was somewhat better off. He lived in Córdoba. About 1598 some of the papers of Blas Valera (doubtless the Latin history) reached his hands just as he was beginning to write an account of his native land. He had already achieved some measure of literary renown in Spain on account of his translations

of "The Dialogues of Love," written in Italian by a Jew named Abarbanel, and also on account of his Florida del Inca, which tells of de Soto's expedition to Florida. Inspired by the manuscripts of Valera and by his previous success, Garcilaso set himself seriously to the task of writing a history of the Incas. To aid his memory he wrote to various friends in Peru for historical and descriptive data of one sort and another. Thus, with a combination of his remembrances, of Blas Valera's writings and of what his friends told him, he was richly furnished with information for his task. He did it exceedingly well. The first part of the *Comentarios Reales de los Yncas* was published in Lisbon in 1609. The second part in Cordoba in 1617. The Inca was a well-read man, being well acquainted with most of the historians who had previously written about Peru. He died on 22nd April, 1617.

It is now possible to tell what little is known of the life of Fernando Montesinos. He came to Peru in 1628 or 1629. Whether or not he came as part of the household of the Viceroy Count of Chinchón is neither important nor clearly decided. He was given a position which required that he make long journeys of inspection. He doubtless learned some of the native languages, and his work was of a nature to keep him in close touch with the natives. It is quite certain that Montesinos either saw and copied the original manuscript of Valera's *Vocabulario* (then at La Paz) or a copy of it, and it is equally plain from evidence recently adduced that he had access to various works by Jesuits and other writers. He travelled some 1,500 leagues in the discharge of his office. Like Valera, he was a Jesuit. In 1644 Montesinos was again in Spain, having journeyed very widely in Peru, and having written two minor treatises

during a residence of three years (1636–39) in Lima. The date of his return to Spain is the last bit of information that we have about him. It is not possible to fix the date at which the *Memorias historiales* were written. It is known that the *Vocabulario* was still extant at La Paz in 1631 for another Jesuit historian, Father Anello Oliva, saw it there about that time. It is possible that Montesinos copied the list of kings at about that date, but the fact that his manuscripts were found in a convent at Seville suggests, if nothing more, that they were written after Montesinos returned to his native land.

The significance of all the foregoing is this: Prior to the time when Montesinos was in Peru there were two great mestizo historians, Blas Valera and Garcilaso de la Vega. The latter used much of the other's work in his own history, and Montesinos indubitably used both of them in his, as well as drawing at will upon the treasures concealed in the various Jesuit archives to which he had access. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the *Memorias historiales* are blemished by a vulgar credulity on the part of their author that is truly astonishing, and in spite of the fact that much of what they now contain is obviously apocryphal, it is impossible to regard the *Memorias* in any other light than as the mutilated form of the perfectly sound *Vocabulario histórico* of Valera.[1]

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[1] I have sought to spare the reader the long and involved controversy as to the interrelations between Valera, Garcilaso and Montesinos. The account here given is a summary of what was brought out during that controversy. The authorities upon whom it is based are :—

Polo, José Toribio. 1906. *El Inca Garcilaso. Revista Histórica*, I. pp. 232—253. Lima.

Patron, Pablo. 1906. *La veracidad de Montesinos. Rev. Hist.*, I. pp. 289—303. Lima.

Montesinos, therefore, is one of the most important of the earlier writers on Peru. His excellence, however, such as it is, comes not from anything which he has contributed himself to our knowledge, but to what he has preserved to us of Valera. On this account, Montesinos (representing Valera) is the chief, and indeed the only, historian yet published who touches upon the pre-Inca history of Peru.[1]

The most obvious reason for the neglect and abuse which Montesinos has received at the hands of many writers is his credulity and his blind acceptation of the Scriptures as an authority on ancient Peruvian history. These qualities led him to begin his book with an

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Gonzalez de la Rosa, Manuel. 1907. *El Padre Valera, primer historiador peruano. Rev. Hist.* II. pp. 180—199. Lima. 1908. *Los Comentarios Reales. Rev. Hist.*, III. pp. 296—306. Lima.

Polo, José Toribio. 1907. *Blas Valera. Rev. Hist.*, II. pp. 544—552. Lima.

Riva-Agüero, José de la. 1910. *La historia en le Perú.* Lima. pp. 13—43; 61—113. 1916. *Elogio del Inca Garcilaso. Revista Universitaria.* Lima.

Markham, Sir Clements R. 1910. *The Incas of Perú.* London. pp. 10—16; 260—283.

Means, Philip Ainsworth. 1917. *An Outline of Culture Sequence in the Andean Area. International Congress of Americanists,* XIXth Session, pp. 236—253. Washington.

[1] The interesting *Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno,* written by Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala and cleverly illustrated with pen-and-ink sketches, formerly existed, in manuscript, in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. It was taken away from there about 1909 by a German named Pietschmann who has neither published it nor returned it. See Markham, 1910, pp. 16—20. See also :—

Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca. 1609. *Comentarios reales.* Lisbon. 1869—71. *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas.* Edited by Sir Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt Society. London.

Montesinos, Fernando. 1840. *Mémoires historiques sur l'ancien Pérou.* Edited by H. Ternaux-Compans. Paris. 1882. *Historia antigua del Perú.* Edited by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. Madrid.

Valera, Blas (Called also El Jesuita Anónimo). 1879. *Relación de las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Perú.* In *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas,* by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. Madrid.

Oliva, Anello. 1895. *Historia . . . del Perú.* Edited by Juan F. Pazos Varela and Luis Varela y Orbegoso. Lima.

elaborate exposition of his belief that Peru and the Ophir of the Old Testament were the same region. As the first three chapters of the *Memorias historiales* are taken up with this absurd belief it is likely that they, more than any other single thing, have served to damn the book as a whole.

In order to profit by the great amount of perfectly genuine folklore concealed in the *Memorias*, one must first strip away all the husks of credulity and superstition, all the distorted and mis-stated events, and all the apocryphal statements. The next step is that of comparing the folklore thus exposed to view with all other varieties of evidence touching upon ancient Andean history. This comparison, when carried out with proper caution and great care, reveals an extraordinary degree of correspondence between all the types of evidence, and it serves to corroborate my dictum that the *Memorias* do contain a large measure of perfectly genuine pre-Inca folklore.

This is the method which I shall follow. It has already been made clear, on a basis of historical criticism, why anything in the writings of Montesinos that is not palpably nonsensical is probably derived from earlier and well-informed writers who were in close contact with the people of Peru soon after the Conquest. Now I shall take up the salient features of the pre-Inca history of the Andean region, as found in the *Memorias*, and I shall compare them carefully with the data provided by modern anthropological and archæological research.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the *Memorias* is that which may be described as the chronological. Several writers on ancient Peru, notably the late Sir Clements Markham and Mr. T. A. Joyce, have given

their attention to this matter.[1] It seems clear that, even if he does nothing more, Montesinos does indicate that there were generations of chiefs in the Andean highlands before ever the Inca tribe of the Cuzco valley began to rise to imperial power, about A.D. 1100. Careful study of the matter reveals, however, that Montesinos is of deeper significance than merely this. As there are vestiges of true folklore hidden in his historical account, so also are there important points of undeniable authenticity regarding the manners and customs of the early peoples of the Andean region.

It is worthy of note, also, that Bartolomé de las Casas, who was in Peru in 1532, just after the Conquest and long before the birth of Blas Valera, makes the definite statement that other dynasties of chiefs ruled in the Andes before ever the Incas rose to power. See CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ DE LA. 1892. DE LAS ANTIGUAS GENTES DEL PERU. Edition of MARCOS JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA. Madrid. Chapters XIV. and XVI.

If, for the sake of argument, we momentarily assume that the list of kings, as given by Montesinos, is a literal transcription of the pre-Inca history of the Andes, we shall find that we are carried far back into antiquity.[2] Such an assumption will take us back to about 1220 B.C. This date is reached by multiplying the number of "kings" (102) by the average length of a reign (27 years); the result (2,754) is then subtracted from the date of the Spanish Conquest (A.D. 1530).

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[1] MARKHAM, 1910, pp. 10—16.
RIVA-AGUERO, 1910, pp. 71—79.
JOYCE, THOMAS A. 1912. *South American Archæology*. London. pp. 77—86.
MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH. 1918. *Las relaciones entre Centro-América y Sud-América en la época prehistorica. Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, XXXIII. pp. 151—170.

[2] Compare: MARKHAM, 1910, pp. 40—57.

As I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] this date is untenable, being a great deal too early. In all probability, South America at that time was an uninhabited wilderness. Fortunately, however, there are other methods for finding out at about what period the Andean region began to be populated. The work of Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, of the United States National Museum, Washington, has shown that the earliest people on the coast of Peru were of the same physical type as the people of Central America and that their art was much like the earliest art of that same region.[2] The work of Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, Mr. Sylvanus Griswold Morley and Dr. Herbert J. Spinden has shown at about what time the various cultural phases of Central America throve.[3] It is now clear that, about A.D. 200, the Mayas of Central America had entered in upon the first brilliant period of their history. The development which marked them at that time, however, speaks of many generations of previous growth. This preliminary period (of unknown length) is represented by that culture which is now known by the arbitrary name of the Archaic Culture. That culture is not only found all over southern Mexico, Central America and Panama, but also on both coasts of the more northerly parts of South America and on

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[1] MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH. 1917B. *A Survey of Ancient Peruvian Art. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXI. pp. 315—442. New Haven.

[2] HRDLIČKA, ALEŠ. 1911. *Some Results of Recent Anthropological Exploration in Peru. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications*, LVI. No. 16. Washington.

[3] BOWDITCH, CHARLES P. 1910. *The Numeration, Calendar Systems and Astronomical Knowledge of the Mayas.* Cambridge, Massachusetts.

MORLEY, SYLVANUS GRISWOLD. 1915. *An Introduction to the Study of the Maya Hieroglyph Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 57. Washington.

SPINDEN, HERBERT J. 1913. *A Study of Maya Art. Memoirs of the Peabody Museum*, VI. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

the high plateaux in the region of Lake Titicaca.[1] This proves without question that the earliest culture of South America was not only a contemporary of the Archaic Culture of Mexico and Central America, but was in truth an offshoot of it. Probably during many centuries people from Central America drifted southwards into South America, both by the Pacific coast and by the Atlantic coast. These movements were

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[1] The Archaic Culture occurs on the Peruvian coast from Piura down to Nasca. I have seen specimens from that region, and also others from the Titicaca drainage in Bolivia. The best collections in Peru and Bolivia are those of Dr. Javier Prado y Ugarteche (Lima), Dr. Julio C. Tello (Lima), Don Luis Elias y Elias (Morropón, Piura), Dr. Victor Eguiguren E. (Piura), Major Frederico Diez de Medina (La Paz), Dr. Arturo Posnanski (La Paz) and Don Agustín de Rada (La Paz). The Museo Nacional at Lima (directed by Don Emilio Gutierrez de Quintanilla y Florez) and the Museo Nacional at La Paz (directed by Drs. Alberto Jauregui y Rosquellas and Vicente Ballivián), also contain many specimens of great value in this connection. Consult the following works :—

Spinden, Herbert J. 1915. *Notes on the Archæology of Salvador. American Anthropologist* (N.S.) xvii. pp. 446—491. Plates 21 and 22.

Bovallius, Carl. 1886. *Nicaraguan Antiquities.* Stockholm. Plate 33.

Bransford, J. F. 1881. *Archæological Researches in Nicaragua.* Washington. Plate 1.

Peñafiel, Antonio. 1890. *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo.* Berlin. 3 volumes. 1899. *Teotihuacan.* Mexico.

Holmes, William H. 1885. *Ancient Art of . . . Chiriqui. Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for* 1884—85, pp. 3—187. Washington.

MacCurdy, George Grant. 1911. *A Study of Chiriquian Antiquities. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences,* iii. New Haven, Conn.

Dorsey, George A. 1901. *Archæological Investigations on the Island of La Plata, Ecuador. Field Museum, Publication No.* 56. Chicago. Plates 69—101.

Saville, Marshall H. 1907—10. *Antiquities of Manabí.* New York. 2 volumes, ii. Plates 83—97.

Uhle, Max. 1912. *Die Muschelhuegel von Ancon. International Congress of Americanists,* xviiith Session, pp. 22—45.

Tello, Julio C. 1917. *Los antiguos cementerios del valle de Nazca. Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress,* i. pp. 283—291. Washington.

Means, Philip Ainsworth. 1918b. *Pre-Columbian Peruvian Chronology and Cultures. Man,* xviii. pp. 168—169. London.

wholly accidental and unpremeditated, but they serve to explain the characteristics of the earliest Andean cultures and the resemblance which they bear to those of Central America. Because none of the earliest and crudest varieties of the Archaic Culture as found in Mexico and Central America appear in South America, we must assume that the migratory movements did not begin until the Archaic Culture in Central America was already fairly old and well developed. With this situation in mind, and remembering that A.D. 200 is the date at which the Archaic Culture in the Maya area was already at an end, I am inclined to assign all the manifestations of the Archaic Culture which have hitherto come to light in the Andean region to a period of about four or five centuries, ending about A.D. 200.

Before going on to discuss the question of the pre-Conquest history of Peru as evidenced by archæology, something must be said regarding the now accurately dated culture periods of Mexico and Central America.

As has been said, the Mayas began the first of their two great periods of development about A.D. 200. The territory occupied by them at that time was that included to-day in northern Guatemala, in the Mexican states of Chiapas, Tabasco and Campeche, and in parts of British Honduras and Honduras. This extensive region was the seat of the so-called "Old Empire" of the Mayas. It flourished from about A.D. 200 up to about 600, the latter half being the more brilliant one. A number of very fine cities with magnificently adorned temples and palaces flourished all through the Old Empire. Some of these were Tikal, Palenque, Copan, Naranjo, Piedras Negras, Altar de Sacrificio, Tzendales, Yaxchilan, Quirigua, and Seibal. An idea of their chronological position may be gained by examining

Table I. About 460, the Mayas, and especially the Itza tribe of that stock, began to send out exploring parties into the northern parts of Yucatan. New cities, notably Bakhalal, Tayasal and Chichen Itza, were colonised. The period of colonisation lasted up to about 700. From that time till about 960 there was a period of comparatively low culture. The Old Empire cities in the south all fell into a deserted condition, and the Mayas and Itzas were drifting about from place to place in northern Yucatan. From about 1000 to about 1200 northern Yucatan was the seat of the so-called New Empire or League of Mayapan. Under the benign rule of a confederacy of feudal states headed respectively by the cities of Chichen Itza, Mayapan and Uxmal, the Mayas again reached a great development in civilisation, architecture, art and intellectual achievement. Unfortunately political troubles and dynastic ambition on the part of the ruler of Mayapan brought this period to an end. The ruler of Mayapan (Hunnac Ceel) imported some mercenaries from Mexico (then the seat of the great Toltec civilisation, probably an offshoot of the Old Empire) to support his pretensions to supreme overlordship. As a reward, he handed over to the Toltec expeditionary force the city of Chichen Itza, which, from about 1200 up to about 1440, was practically a Mexican city, first Toltec and later Aztec. At the latter date the rulers of Uxmal, who had never yielded to Mayapan or to the Toltecs, caused a great civil war, which well-nigh destroyed the civilisation of northern Yucatan. From 1450 to the Spanish Conquest (1540) there was a general cultural disintegration. The Itzas alone, of all the Mayas, withdrew far enough to escape almost complete disruption. They went back to Tayasal on Lake Peten, where they had before lived, and there

they maintained their independence till 1696. This, then, is the main trend of Maya history.[1]

It has seemed necessary to say all this because it is well that the reader should be able to form a judgment as to the relations between Andean pre-Conquest history and that of other civilised parts of ancient America. By consulting the above and likewise Table I., the reader will be able to see at a glance the cultural history of the Maya area. The Table will be of use for purposes of comparison in any analysis of the *Memorias* of Montesinos into which he may care to go. For the sake of scientific precision, I have given the two systems of datings used by the Mayas themselves, as well as the Christian equivalents. It is interesting to note that the greatest developments in culture on the part of the Mayas coincided with that of the Andeans, in point of time. Probably this is due to climatic conditions, which have fluctuated considerably.[2]

In Table II. we have, in tabulated form, the list of pre-Inca "kings" as it now stands in the *Memorias* of Montesinos. In the list as it appears in the Table the more authentic-seeming "kings" are given in capital letters. Those which seem important, but which have no definite number of years assigned to their reigns, have been supplied with a theoretical reign-period of twenty-five years (which is the average length of reigns in all dynasties everywhere). In order to attain to

[1] MORLEY, 1915, pp. 2—7.
BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG, C-E. 1858. *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de L'Amérique Centrale . . .* Paris, 4 volumes.
ANCONA, ELIGIO. 1878. *Historia de Yucatan.* Merida, 4 volumes.
MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH. 1917c. *History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatan and of the Itzas.* Papers of the Peabody Museum, VII. Cambridge, Mass.
LANDA, DIEGO DE. 1864. *Relation des choses de Yucatan.* Edited by C-E BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG. Paris.

[2] HUNTINGTON, ELLSWORTH. 1915. *Civilization and Climate.* New Haven. P. 242 ff.

the dignity of capital letters a " king " must be credited with some definite deed or connected with some particular event which is not inherently impossible. Of the ninety " kings " who appear on the list, only fourteen are thus capitalised. It might, of course, be argued that these alone are the authentic and genuine pre-Inca chiefs of the mountain region. But, because such a situation would carry us back only to A.D. 750 (fourteen reigns of twenty-five to twenty-seven years each subtracted from A.D. 1100, the date of the first Inca), it is obviously incorrect, for the first authentic-seeming " king " on the list had dealings with the Chimus of the coast, and, as already explained, they came into existence about A.D. 200 or 250. Furthermore, if the first migration or infiltration of people from Central America did take place at this time, why is it that the Maya hieroglyphic system was never introduced into South America? Lastly, that date is proved to be too late for the inception of contact between the mountain folk and the coast folk by the fact that perfectly genuine folk-tales from other sources record a *northward* movement from Peru to Ecuador at just that period. It is impossible, then, that 750 should be the date of the arrival of the Chimus on the coast of Peru. It is about five centuries too late. Consequently we must assume that there were more than fourteen pre-Inca reigns. Years of intimate association with the work of Montesinos make me feel that it is safe to say that the seventy-six extra reigns given by him is probably about twice the number of extra reigns which the list originally contains. His imagination is of the doubling type. He usually records figures at about twice their real value. Therefore, in Table III., I show the authentic-seeming chiefs and the events which mark their reigns. The extra reigns given by

Montesinos also appear, and, with them, in parentheses, the number of reigns I am prepared to accept. Table III., according to the best of my belief, shows the list of " kings " in approximately the form in which it left the hands of Blas Valera.

In Table IV. I have given a theoretical reconstruction of the chronology of the list of " kings " in its revised form. A careful combination of Tables III. and IV. permits the drawing up of a skeleton outline of the pre-Inca cultural history of the Andean region. This is found in Table V. It should be noted here that all the names of " kings " are clearly apocryphal, for they are all Quichua, whereas the language of the earlier period in the mountains was Colla.[1]

It is now time to turn to the question of pre-Conquest Andean history as revealed by archæology. This is not the place to go into details. The reader who wishes to do so is urged to read the various works of the late Sir Clements Markham, of Mr. Thomas A. Joyce, and those of Bandelier, as well as several papers by myself.[2] I give here, in tabulated form, the sequence of cultures in the Andes as modern archæological research has revealed it to be. The basis on which Tables VI. and VII.

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[1] MEANS, 1918, p. 163.

[2] MARKHAM, 1910.
MEANS, 1917, 1917B, 1918.
JOYCE, 1912.
RIVA-AGUERO, 1910.
BANDELIER, ADOLPH FRANCIS. 1910. *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati.* New York.
MARKHAM, SIR CLEMENTS R. 1892. *A History of Peru.* Chicago. 1904. *The Megalithic Age in Peru. International Congress of Americanists,* XIVth Session, II. pp. 521—529. 1908. *A Comparison of the Ancient Peruvian Carvings on the Stones of Tiahuanaco and Chavin. International Congress of Americanists* XVIth Session, pp. 389—395.
UHLE, MAX. 1903. *Pachacamac.* Philadelphia.
BEUCHAT, HENRI. 1912. *Manuel d'archeologie américaine.* Paris.
LORENTE, SEBASTIÁN. 1860. *Historia antigua del Perú.* Lima.
WISSLER, CLARK. 1917. *The American Indian.* New York.

are erected is the firmest possible one. They serve to act not only as a general guide, but as a very convenient check upon Montesinos and as a means for correcting his errors.

One thing more may serve to check up the chronology of Montesinos. In a situation like that which confronts the student of Andean proto-history, no evidence, even if it may at first seem fantastic, which can be of any service at all should be neglected. I have in mind here the matter of eclipses of the sun. Such eclipses are twice mentioned by Montesinos. In Chapter VIII. he speaks of two eclipses of the sun which took place in the reign of Manco Capac II. In Chapter X. he mentions one that happened in the reign of Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti. Now, if my dating is correct, Manco Capac II. (or, rather, the "king" thus labelled) reigned about 225. It is interesting to note that there were total eclipses of the sun visible in Peru in the years A.D. 218 and 223. Again, according to my reckoning, Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti reigned about A.D. 325. A total eclipse of the sun was visible in Peru in the year 317.[1] I state these parallels merely for what they are worth. It is well known, however, that the early folk of Peru, like their contemporaries in Central America and Mexico, devoted a good deal of attention and study to astronomical matters. Chapter XII. of the *Memorias* gives very clear indication of this, and the solar observatories or shadow-clocks (*intihuatana*) are tangible evidence of it. The ancient Peruvians had the rudiments of a real lunar calendar, though, perchance, it would be better to say that the divisions of time prevailing under the Inca *regime* suggest that something more elaborate may have been in use

[1] OPPOLZER, THEODOR RITTER VON. 1887. *Canon der Finsternisse*. Vienna.

previously.[1] In this connection it is interesting to observe what Montesinos has to say, in Chapter XIV., about the former existence of some sort of writing in ancient Peru. It is conceivable that there was such a thing, but it is by no means conclusively proved as yet.

It is unnecessary to say more here regarding the many points of interest in Montesinos. He throws much light upon manners and customs, upon folk-movements and upon cultural developments. The material of this nature buried in the *Memorias* will soon reveal its importance to the reader.

The present translation is made from the edition of Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, entitled :—

MEMORIAS
ANTIGUAS HISTORIALES Y POLITICAS
DEL PERU,
por el Licenciado
D. FERNANDO MONTESINOS,
Madrid,
1882.

Occasional use has been made of the French edition of H. Ternaux-Compans, entitled :—

MEMOIRES HISTORIQUES
sur
L'ANCIEN PEROU,
Paris,
1840.

The letters J., T-C. and M. affixed to notes in this edition indicate respectively the Spanish edition, the French edition and my own belief.

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[1] VASQUEZ, GUINALDO M. 1918. EN REDEDOR DE LAS "MEMORIAS." Revista Universitaria, XIII, II. pp. 65—86. Lima.

The original MS. was found in the convent of San José de Mercedarios Descalzos in Seville. It is now in the Real Academia de la Historia at Madrid.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

196, Beacon Street,
Boston, Massachusetts.
December, 1919.

NOTES FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO THE *Memorias Antiguas* PREPARED BY DON MARCOS JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA AND ADDRESSED TO DON CESÁREO FERNANDEZ DURO.

I. The edition of Jimenez is the first edition in the Spanish language of the *Libro segundo de las Memorias antiguas historiales y politicas del Pirú.*

II. The edition of H. Ternaux-Compans, called *Mémoires historiques sur l'ancien Pérou,* published in 1840, at Paris, is stated to be inaccurate.

III. The original Spanish manuscript of the work is said to exist in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, being Tomo A—155 of the collection of Juan Bautista Muñoz.

IV It is stated that while Muñoz was searching the libraries for materials for his *Historia del Nuevo-Mundo*[1] he found in the monastery of San José de Mercedarios Descalzos in Seville three manuscript volumes in folio of the licentiate Montesinos' great work, one of them containing books one and two of the *Memorias antiguas del Perú,* and the two others containing books one and two of the *Anales del Perú.*

[1] Only one volume of this work was printed. That was published by la viuda de Ibarra, Madrid, 1793. Had Muñoz lived to complete his great work as he projected it, he would undoubtedly have created one of the world's greatest histories.

V. At the request of Don José de Galvez, Minister of the Crown, these papers were copied in the summer of 1785 by Fray Josef de San Antonio Abad who, not liking the style of the original, did not hesitate to alter it. For his meddlesomeness he got a severe reprimand from Galvez in a letter dated 28th September, 1785. This letter did not reach the monk for a long time, and in a letter dated 29th September, 1786, he states that his changes were but slight.

VI. Jimenez de la Espada, then, found himself supplied only with the incorrect translation of Ternaux-Compans and with the mutilated copy of Fray Josef. However, he later saw the *Ophir de España Memorias Historiales I Politicas del Pirv . . .*, a volume with an engraved title-page of bad taste in its ornamentation. This bears the date 1644. This work is in manuscript, and it comprises the first, second and third books of the *Memorias antiguas*. The second book is that now being brought out.

VII. The licentiate Fernando Montesinos was a native of Osuna in Spain. He went to Peru in the train of the Viceroy don Jerónimo Fernandez de Cabrera, conde de Chinchón, arriving in Lima 14th January, 1629. He resided there for fifteen years, but he also made long journeys, visiting both Quito and Potosí.

EIGHT CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES TO ELUCIDATE THE ANCIENT MEMORIES OF THE HISTORY OF PERU

BY

THE LICENTIATE FERNANDO MONTESINOS, S.J.

COMPILED BY

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS

A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

BEFORE coming to the Tables themselves, it is well, perhaps, to add to what has already been said, and to elucidate with greater exactitude the purpose for which they were designed.

The trend of modern historico-anthropological research, and our growing geographical knowledge alike make it impossible to believe that the South American cultures were of a greater antiquity than those to the North of them in Central America and North America. Everything indicates that the earliest and most fundamental ethnic shifts were from North to South, and that they fell into two natural groups, one of which consisted of accidental and haphazard migrations of detached bodies along the Pacific littoral and the other of which was made up of similarly fortuitous folk-movements along the eastern watershed and littoral of the South American land-mass.[1]

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[1] MEANS, 1918, 1918B. Also :—

MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH. 1918C. *Realism in the Art of Ancient Peru.* Art and Archæology. VI. pp. 235—246. Washington.
1918D. *Racial Factors in Democracy.* Boston. P. 112.

These studies are based upon the best and soundest material available ; more detailed bibliographical material will be found with all of them. Meanwhile, the student may consult with much advantage :—

MARKHAM, 1910 ; RIVA-AGUERO, 1910 ; JOYCE, 1912 ; BEUCHAT, 1912 ; UHLE, 1903 ; and also :—

BAESSLER, ARTHUR. 1902—1903. *Ancient Peruvian Art.* New York. 3 volumes.

BERTHON, PAUL. 1911. *Etude sur le précolombien du Bas-Pérou.* Paris.

REISS, WILHELM, and STUEBEL, ALPHONS. 1880—1887. *The Necropolis of Ancon.* Berlin. 4 volumes.

TELLO, JULIO C. 1917. *Les antiguos cementerios del valle de Nasca.* Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, I. pp. 283—291. Washington.

When Dr. William Curtis Farabee, of the University Museum,

In view of all this, therefore, it is possible for us to set an approximate date for the entrance into South America of the forebears of the folk whose history we are to follow with the aid of Montesinos. A study of the archæology and folklore of the regions involved reveals the fact that, whereas some of the earlier and more fundamental culture-elements (such as the art of making pottery vessels and figurines and the practice of agriculture) were brought by the migrants into the Andean region, more advanced elements (such as the use of hieroglyphs and of a complex calendar-system) were not brought, or if they were brought partway, knowledge of them faded out during the generations of accidental and retardant migration prior to reaching the Peruvian shores. It is safe to say, then, that the earliest migrations southward took place considerably before the Maya calendar and hieroglyphic systems became definitely established in their final forms.

Another point is of great importance in this connection. It has been demonstrated that many parts of the world, and among them the American continent, have undergone profound climatic fluctuations which have influenced very profoundly the history of the dwellers in the parts affected. For that reason we must expect to find the civilisation of South America having more or less the same oscillations as that of the regions to the North.[1]

In Table I., then, we have a Chronological Summary of Maya chronology and historical development which will serve as a cultural and historical yard-stick, so to speak, for measuring and computing the duration of cultural phases in the Andean region.

Philadelphia, publishes the results of his work in the Amazon basin, we shall have further evidence wherewith to test the finality of these opinions. His work is bound to have a tremendous influence upon research into American pre-history.

[1] HUNTINGTON, ELLSWORTH. 1915. *Civilisation and Climate*. New Haven.

Tables II. to VII., inclusive, contain my computations of the chronology of Peru and a combination of the folklore material hidden in Montesinos with the data furnished by archæology. Table VII., in effect, is a brief statement and summing-up of the whole pre-Inca period from the points of view of chronology and cultural development.

Table VIII. is a comparison of Yucatecan and Andean chronologies.

To conclude, then, we may say that there is a fairly close correspondence between archæological revelations and those made by an analytical study of the folklore material in Montesinos, who, after all, is only the mouthpiece of earlier, saner and more authoritative writers.

TABLE I.: MAYA CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

Initial Series (*Long Count*).	*Ukahlay katunob* (*Short Count*).	*Christian Dates.*	*Events, etc.*
8. 6.0.0.0.	10 Ahau	120 B.C.	
8. 7.0.0.0.	8	100	(Tuxtla Statuette.)
8. 8.0.0.0.	6	80	
8. 9.0.0.0.	4	60	(This was the Proto-historic period during which there were many unrecorded migrations and folk-movements. The foundations of future culture were laid at this time, and the "Archaic Type" still flourished.)
8.10.0.0.0.	2	40	
8.11.0.0.0.	13	20	
8.12.0.0.0.	11	0	
8.13.0.0.0.	9	A.D. 20	
8.14.0.0.0.	7	40	
8.15.0.0.0.	5	60	(The Leyden Plate. Llaxactun dates begin.)
8.16.0.0.0.	3	80	
8.17.0.0.0.	1	100	
8.18.0.0.0.	12	120	
8.19.0.0.0.	10	140	
9. 0.0.0.0.	8	160	(The end of the Proto-historic

TABLE I.: MAYA CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT—*cont.*

Initial Series (*Long Count*).	*Ukahlay katunob* (*Short Count*).	*Christian Dates.*	*Events, etc.*
			period. Spinden, 1914, p. 29. Opening entry of the *ukahlay katunob* in Morley's correlation.)
9. 1.0.0.0.	6 Ahau	180	
9. 2.0.0.0.	4	200	(Golden Age or Old Empire in southern Maya area. Early Period begins. Means, 1917B, p. 2.)
9. 3.0.0.0.	2	220	(Tikal and Copan dates begin. Morley.)
9. 4.0.0.0.	13	240	
9. 5.0.0.0.	11	260	
9. 6.0.0.0.	9	280	
9. 7.0.0.0.	7	300	
9. 8.0.0.0.	5	320	
9. 9.0.0.0.	3	340	(Piedras Negras dates begin.)
9.10.0.0.0.	1	360	(Middle Period begins. Naranjo and Altar de Sacrificios dates begin.)
9.11.0.0.0.	12	380	
9.12.0.0.0.	10	400	(Yaxchilan dates begin.)
9.13.0.0.0.	8	420	(Tzendales dates begin.)
9.14.0.0.0.	6	440	(Altar de Sacrificios dates stop.)
9.15.0.0.0.	4	460	(Beginning of Great Period — Spinden, or Colonisation Period — Means.)
9.16.0.0.0.	2	480	(Quirigua flourishing.)
9.17.0.0.0.	13	500	(A period of explorations and discoveries in northern Yucatan.)
9.18.0.0.0.	11	520	
9.19.0.0.0.	9	540	(Copan, Quirigua, and Yaxchilan dates stop.)
10. 0.0.0.0.	7	560	(Naranjo dates stop.)
10. 1.0.0.0.	5	580	(Tayasal flourished. Means, 1917B, p.4.)
10. 2.0.0.0.	3	600	(Tikal dates stop. End of Great Period — Morley and Spinden.)

TABLE I.: MAYA CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT—*cont.*

Initial Series (*Long Count*).	*Ukahlay katunob* (*Short Count*).	*Christian Dates.*	*Events, etc.*
10. 3.0.0.0.	1 Ahau	620	(Old Chichen flourishing. Means, 1917B, p. 5. Migrations in northern Yucatan.)
10. 4.0.0.0.	12	640	
10. 5.0.0.0.	10	660	
10. 6.0.0.0.	8	680	
10. 7.0.0.0.	6	700	(End of Colonisation Period; beginning of Transitional Period—Means. The Old Empire cities deserted; the Mayas and Itzas wandering about in northern Yucatan and settling for a time at Champoton.)
10. 8.0.0.0.	4	720	
10. 9.0.0.0.	2	740	
10.10.0.0.0.	13	760	
10.11.0.0.0.	11	780	
10.12.0.0.0.	9	800	
10.13.0.0.0.	7	820	
10.14.0.0.0.	5	840	
10.15.0.0.0.	3	860	
10.16.0.0.0.	1	880	
10.17.0.0.0	12	900	
10.18.0.0.0.	10	920	
10.19.0.0.0.	8	940	(The Itzas begin to leave Champoton and to move back to Chichen Itza.)
11. 0.0.0.0.	6	960	
11. 1.0.0.0.	4	980	
11. 2.0.0.0.	2	1000	(Uxmal, Chichen Itza and Mayapan founded. The New Empire or League of Mayapan, headed by Mayapan, Uxmal and Chichen Itza, rises to great power and lasts for two hundred years.)
11. 3.0.0.0.	13	1020	
11. 4.0.0.0.	11	1040	
11. 5.0.0.0.	9	1060	(At this time culture was very high in northern Yucatan, T'hoo, Labna.

TABLE I. : MAYA CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT—*cont*

Initial Series (*Long Count*).	*Ukahlay katunob* (*Short Count*).	*Christian Dates.*	*Events, etc.*
			Ake, Kabah, Sayil, Xlabpak, Xkalumkin, Ticul, Acanceh and Izamal were some of the lesser cities.)
11. 6.0.0.0.	7 Ahau	1080	
11. 7.0.0.0.	5	1100	
11. 8.0.0.0.	3	1120	
11. 9.0.0.0.	1	1140	
11.10.0.0.0.	12	1160	
11.11.0.0.0.	10	1180	
11.12.0.0.0.	8	1200	(Internecine strife between the rulers of Mayapan and of Chichen Itza bring the League to an end. Toltec mercenaries are imported from Mexico and are given Chichen Itza by the rulers of Mayapan. There is constant conflict between them and the rulers (the Tutul Xius) of Uxmal.)
11.13.0.0.0.	6	1220	
11.14.0.0.0.	4	1240	
11.15.0.0.0.	2	1260	
11.16.0.0.0.	13	1280	
11.17.0.0.0.	11	1300	
11.18.0.0.0.	9	1320	
11.19.0.0.0.	7	1340	
12. 0.0.0.0.	5	1360	(At this time the Toltec influence on art and culture was very strong in Yucatan, especially at Chichen Itza.)
12. 1.0.0.0.	3	1380	
12. 2.0.0.0.	1	1400	
12. 3.0.0.0.	12	1420	
12. 4.0.0.0.	10	1440	
12. 5.0.0.0.	8	1460	(Mayapan destroyed. The Itzas flee to Tayasal.)
12. 6.0.0.0.	6	1480	
12. 7.0.0.0.	4	1500	
12. 8.0.0.0.	2	1520	(The Spaniards first seen.)
12. 9.0.0.0.	13	1540	(Ahpula Napot Xius died.)
12.10.0.0.0.	11	1560	(Spanish conquest.)

TABLE II.: THE LIST OF KINGS IN MONTESINOS.

Names of Kings.	Reign.	Age.	Events, Remarks.
1. Pirua Pacari Manco	30	50	
2. Manco Capac I.	30	50	
3. Huanacauri Pirua	50	90	
4. Sinchi Cozque Pachacuti I.	60	100	To these two reigns Montesinos attributes the following misplaced events: The Chanca Rebellion; The Conquest of Quito; Various deeds really done by Viracocha, Pachacutec and Tupac Yupanqui.
5. Inti Capac Yupanqui	50	?	
6. Manco Capac II.	20	?	
7. Tupac Capac	?	?	
8. Tini Capac Yupanqui	?	?	
9. Titu Capac Yupanqui	?	?	
10. Inti Capac Pirua Amaru	?	80	
11. Capac Sayhua Capac	60	90	
12. Capac Tinia Yupanqui	40	90	
13. Ayar Tacco Capac	25	?	...Savage people, "giants," disembark from a large fleet upon the coast. They settle all along the shore, and some of them penetrate inland. They found Pachacama. They are greatly feared at Cuzco. (They are the *Chimos* or Chimus.)
14. Huascar Titu	30	64	...The people of Cuzco and other mountain folk build fortresses to protect them from the warlike Chimos at Trujillo.
15. Quispi Titu	?	30	
16. Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti II.	25	?	...Trouble with the Chimos, the Vilcas and other people. An eclipse of the sun.
17. Titu Capac	25	?	
18. Paullu Ticac Pirua	30	?	
19. Lloque Tupac Amauta	50	?	
20. Cayo Manco Amauta	?	90	
21. Huascar Titu Tupac	23	75	...Carries out reforms in the army.
22. Manco Capac Amauta	50	80	
23. Ticac Tupac	30	?	
24. Paullu Toto Capac	39	?	
25. Cayo Manco Amauta	30	?	...Trouble with the Chiriguanos.

TABLE II. : THE LIST OF KINGS IN MONTESINOS—*cont.*

NAMES OF KINGS.	REIGN.	AGE.	EVENTS, REMARKS.
26. MARASCO PACHACUTI III.	40	80	...Further wars with the Chimos on the coast. The mountaineers build defences as far away from Cuzco as Huanuco and Rimac (Limatambo ?). There is also a bloody battle with barbarians in the Collao.
27. Paullo Atauchi Capac...	?	70	
28. Lluqi Yupanqui	14	30	
29. Lluqui Ticac	8	30	
30. CAPAC YUPANQUI	50	80	...Limits the power of the *Chimos*.
31. Tupac Yupanqui	18	?	
32. MANCO AUQUI TUPAC PACHACUTI IV.	50	?	...Wages many wars.
33. SINCHI APUSQUI, (or HUARMA HUIRA COCHA)	40	80	...Reforms war-methods, law, religion and calendar.
34. Auqui Quitu Atauchi...	5	29	
35. Ayay Manco	?	60	
36. Huira Cocha Capac	5	?	
37. Chinchi Roca Amauta	20	?	
38. Tupac Amaru Amauta	25	?	
39. CAPAC RAYMI AMAUTA	*25*	?	...Reforms the calendar and determines the solstices.
40. Illa Tupac	3	30	
41. Toca Corca Apu Capac	45	?	
42. Huampar Sairi Tupac...	32	?	
43. Hinac Huilla Amauta Pachacuti V.	35	?	...(2500 years after Deluge = A.D. 300.)
44. Capac Yupanqui Amauta	?	?	
45. Huampar Sairi Tupac	?	?	
46. Cayo Manco Auqui	13	?	
47. Hinac Huilla	30	?	
48. Inti Capac Amauta	30	?	
49. AYAR MANCO CAPAC	*25*	?	...Great disturbances in the Andes.
50. Yahuar Huquiz	30	?	...Intercalary days introduced.
51. Capac Titu Yupanqui...	?	?	
52. Tupac Curi Amauta	39	80	
53. HUILLCANOTA AMAUTA	*25*	90	...Great invasions from the region of Tucuman and from the Andes (=Antis?). The last-mentioned invaders came from a rich land in the north by way of the forests. A great battle at the Pass of Vilcanota, won by the people of Cuzco.

TABLE II. : THE LIST OF KINGS IN MONTESINOS—*cont.*

NAMES OF KINGS.	REIGN.	AGE.	EVENTS, REMARKS.
54. Tupac Yupanqui	43	90	
55. Illa Tupac Capac	4	?	
56. Titu Raymi Cozque	31	?	
57. Huqui Nina Auqui	43	?	
58. Manco Capac	23	?	
59. Cayo Manco Capac	26	?	
60. Sinchi Ayar Manco	7	?	
61. Huaman Tacco Amauta	5	?	...Comets and earthquakes.
62. TITU YUPANQUI PACHACUTI V.	*25*	?	...(3000 years after the Deluge =A.D. 800.) Fierce invading armies come from the east, north-east and from the Collao.
63. Titu Huaman Quicho	?	?	
64. Cozque Huaman Titu	?	25	
65. Cuyo (Cuis?) Manco	50	?	
66. Huillca Titu	30	?	
67. Sairi Tupac	40	?	
68. Tupac Yupanqui	25	?	
69. Huayna Tupac	37	?	
70. Guanacauri	10	?	
71. Huillca Huaman	70	?	
72. Huaman Capac	40	?	
73. Paullu Raymi	19	?	
74. Manco Capac Amauta	?	?	
75. Auqui Atau Hillca	35	?	
76. Manco Titu Capac	62	?	
77. Huayna Tupac	50	?	
78. Tupac Cauri	?	80	...(3500 years after the Deluge =A.D. 1300.)
79. Arantial	?	80	
80. Huauri Titi Capac	?	80	
81. Huispa Titu Auqui	18	70	
82. Toco COZQUE	?	80	...Cannibals come from Panama and Buena Ventura.
83. Ayar Manco	22	80	
84. Condoroca	?	?	
85. Amaro	?	?	
86. Chinchiroca	41	?	
87. Illa Toca	72	?	
88. Lluqui Yupanqui	45	?	
89. Roca Titu	25	?	
90. Inti Maita Capac	27	?	...(4000 years after the Deluge =A.D. 1800.)

N.B.—In this Table I have carried out to its logical conclusion the absurd Deluge-chronology of Montesinos. The Deluge, be it noted, is supposed to have taken place about 2200 B.C. The folly of this Deluge-dating is here made apparent.

TABLE III.: THE LIST OF KINGS REVISED

(And in Approximately its Original Form).

Names of Kings.	Events and Remarks.
	Twelve (six) generations of putative chiefs.
Ayar Tacco Capac	The Chimu population (*i.e.*, the "Giants") begins to arrive on the coast of Peru by a process of infiltration or of gradual and accidental drift. They settle all along the shore from Santa Elena down to Pachacamac, but they are especially strong in the more northerly parts. They also penetrate inland to some extent, and they are greatly feared at Cuzco.
Huascar Titu	The people of Cuzco take defensive measures against the Chimus. A fortress built at Limatambo (old name was Rimac Tampu—Tavern of the Speaker.)
	One generation intervenes without events.
Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti	Trouble with the Chimus, the Vilcas and other people. An eclipse of the sun.
	Four (two) generations intervene without recorded events.
Huascar Titu Tupac	The army is reformed.
	Three (two) generations without recorded events.
Cayo Manco Amauta	Trouble with the Chiriguanos.
Marasco Pachacuti	Further wars with the Chimus on the coast. The people of Cuzco build fortresses as far away as Huanuco. There is also a bloody battle in the Collao.
	One generation without recorded events.
Capac Yupanqui	Limits the power of the coast peoples.
	One generation without recorded events.
Manco Auqui Tupac Pachacuti	Wages many wars.
Sinchi Apusqui (or Huarma Huira Cocha)	Army reformed. Law, religion and calendar improved. Illatici Huira Cocha cult is strengthened.
	Five (two) generations without recorded events.
Capac Raymi Amauta	Reforms calendar; builds shadow-clock (*intihuatana*); strengthens cult of Illatici Huira Cocha.
	Nine (five) generations without recorded events.
Ayar Manco Capac	Great disturbances in the Andes.
	Three (one) generations without recorded events.

TABLE III.: THE LIST OF KINGS REVISED—*continued.*

NAMES OF KINGS.	EVENTS AND REMARKS.
HUILLCANOTA AMAUTA	Many hordes come from the region of Tucuman. A great battle takes place at the Pass of Vilcanota. A victory for the people of Cuzco. Also, there are invasions from the Andes (=Antis?), by people who come through the forests from a rich land in the north.
	Eight (four) generations without recorded events.
TITU YUPANQUI PACHACUTI	Fierce invading armies from the east and north-east, and from the Collao.
	Nineteen (eight) generations without recorded events.
TOCO COZQUE	Cannibals come from Panama and Buena Ventura.
	Seven (three) generations without recorded events.
	THE BEGINNING OF THE INCA PERIOD.

TABLE IV.: A CALCULATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIST OF KINGS.

NAMES OF KINGS.	DATES AND EVENTS.
	Beginning of the Inca period A.D. 1100
	Three generations back = ... 75 yrs.
TOCO COZQUE	1025
	Eight generations back = ... 200 yrs.
TITU YUPANQUI PACHACUTI	825
	Four generations back = ... 100 yrs.
HUILLCANOTA AMAUTA	725
	One generation back = ... 25 yrs.
AYAR MANCO CAPAC	700
	Five generations back = ... 125 yrs.
CAPAC RAYMI AMAUTA	575
	Two generations back = ... 50 yrs.
SINCHI APUSQUI (Huarma Huira Cocha)	525
MANCO AUQUI TUPAC PACHACUTI	500
	One generation back = ... 26 yrs.
CAPAC YUPANQUI	475
	One generation back = ... 25 yrs.
MARASCO PACHACUTI	450
CAYO MANCO AMAUTA	425
	Two generations back = ... 50 yrs.
HUASCAR TITU TUPAC	375
	Two generations back = ... 50 yrs.
TITU YUPANQUI PACHACUTI	325
	One generation back = ... 25 yrs.
HUASCAR TITU	300
AYAR TACCO CAPAC	275
	Six putative generations = ... 150 yrs.
BEGINNING OF THE LINE OF CHIEFS	125

TABLE V.: CHRONOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL EVENTS IN THE PRE-INCA PERIOD OF THE ANDEAN REGION.

(On account of the principle upon which it is constructed, this Table begins with the latest events and works back to the earliest events.)

Approximate Dates.	Reigns and Cultural Events.
1100	Beginning of the Inca Period and of its Culture.
1000—1100	A Period of Decadence; "The Tampu-Tocco Period."
1025	Toco Cozque flourishes.
800—1025	Wars with the People in the North-East, East and South.
825	Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti.
700—825	Invasions by the People in the East and South.
725	Huillcanota Amauta.
675—725	Great Disturbances in the Andes (=Antis?)
700	Ayar Manco Capac.
550—700	A Period of Prosperity; Cult of Illatici Huira Cocha Flourishes. Shadow-Clocks (Intihuatana) Used.
575	Capac Raymi Amauta.
500—550	Army Reformed; Laws Improved; Calendar Corrected; Cult of Illatici Huira Cocha Strengthened.
525	Sinchi Apusqui (Huarma Huira Cocha).
500	Manco Auqui Tupac Pachacuti.
450—500	The Power of the Coast Peoples is Limited.
475	Capac Yupanqui.
375—450	Constant Wars with the Chimus on the Coast; The Mountain People Build Fortresses for Protection against Them. Fortress of Huanco Built. A Bloody Battle with the People in the South.
450	Marasco Pachacuti.
425	Cayo Manco Amauta.
300—375	Army Reforms; (Probably Many Wars).
375	Huascar Titu Tupav.
325	Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti.
225—300	The Chimu Population on the Coast Begins to Come into Hostile Contact with the People of the Mountains.
275	Ayar Tacco Capac.
150—275	Proto-historic chiefs.

TABLE VI.: THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES BASED ON MODERN ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

Coast Cultures.	Approximate Dates.	Mountain Cultures.
Archaic Culture. Of Central American origin. Was the foundation on which were built later cultures. It brought with it the arts of pottery-making, weaving and agriculture. (See Text of Introduction.)	200 B.C.—A.D. 200.	*Archaic Culture.* Another branch of the Central American Archaic culture reached the Andean highlands by way of the eastern watershed of the continent.

TABLE VI.: THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES BASED ON MODERN ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH—*continued.*

COAST CULTURES	APPROXIMATE DATES.	MOUNTAIN CULTURES.
Early Chimu-Nasca Culture. An outgrowth of the Archaic culture. Wonderful pottery and textiles; gold and silver were known. Art at a high level. Buildings of adobe.	A.D. 200.— A.D. 500.	*Early Tiahuanaco Culture.* Not in touch with contemporary culture on the coast. Stone buildings were made. Pottery was still much like Archaic culture pottery. Carvings crude but would-be realistic.
Middle Chimu-Nasca Culture. In this period a lively trade with the interior grew up, and toward the end of it influences from the art and civilisation of Tiahuanaco became strong on the coast, notably at Pachacamac and in the Trujillo district (where the Chimu kingdom was.)	A.D. 500.— A.D. 900.	*Middle Tiahuanaco.* In the early part of this period influences from the coast raised the level of the Tiahuanaco culture considerably. Much better buildings, pottery and metal objects were made. Art became more and more rich and conventional. At the end it became decadent.
Late Chimu-Nasca lasted a very long time (about A.D. 900—1400). It was a continuation of former coast periods. Considerable progress in architecture was made. There were a series of strong states along the coast, each one ruling several valleys. That of the Chimu (in northern half of the coast), and that of the chief Cuismancu (around Pachacamac and Lima) were the strongest.		*Late Tiahuanaco.* This was merely the decadent survival of the last period. Climatic causes probably militated in the decay. Population seems to have shifted to the Cuzco region. Much lower level of culture than formerly. Lasted about 900 to about 1100.
Inca period. Between 1425 and 1470, the Inca Pachacutec began to add the northerly parts of the coast to his empire, the southerly parts have been previously added about a century earlier. Inca government and Inca culture became very strong on the coast.	1425—1531.	*Inca Empire.* About 1100 the Inca tribe near Cuzco began to gather together the fragments of the former empire. Little by little Inca power made good its authority over other confederacies and chieftaincies. By the time of Mayta Capac (about 1250) it was a strongly centralised state. From about 1450 to 1531 was the height of the Inca Empire.

1531: Francisco Pizarro invades the Inca Empire, then ruled by Atahualpa.

TABLE VII.: AN APPLICATION OF THE LIST OF KINGS IN MONTESINOS TO THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES IN PRE-COLUMBIAN TIMES.

Kings.	Approximate Dates.	Events and Cultures.
	150—275	Proto-historic chiefs reigning in the mountains. Archaic culture arriving from north and flourishing.
Ayar Tacco Capac; Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti; Huascar Titu Tupac; Cayo Manco Amauta; Marasco Pachacuti; Capac Yupanqui; Manco Auqui Tupac Pachacuti	275—500	Chimu civilisation establishing itself on the coast, growing out of Archaic Culture. Even at this early period, to judge by Montesinos, there were occasional clashes between the coast people and those of the mountains. The latter built fortresses to protect themselves from incursions, and there were several wars between highlands and coast.
Sinchi Apusqui; Capac Raymi Amauta; Ayar Manco Capac; Huillcanota Amauta; Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti II.	500—900	A very brilliant period for both the mountain (*i.e.*, Tiahuanaco) culture and for the Chimu civilisation on the coast. The cult of Viracocha became firmly established in the highlands, being analogous to that of Pachacamac on the coast. Army and calendar reforms in the highlands. Few or no hostilities with the coast people.
Toco Cozque	900—1100	A decadent period, that of "Tampu Tocco," marked by many wars and invasions from all sides, and by the breaking up of the old Tiahuanaco empire.
The Incas	1100—1531	The gradual up-building of the Inca empire.

N.B.—This Table takes notice of none of the putative generations of "kings" which must have intervened between those named here, all of whom have a character of more or less complete historicity. (See Table IV., for the putative generations.)

TABLE VIII.: THE CHRONOLOGIES OF YUCATAN AND OF THE ANDES.

A.D. 1	A.D. 100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500
Archaic.	Old Empire Mayas.					Transitional Period.				New Empire.		Toltecs.	Decay.		

Archaic.	Chimu-Nasca I.	Chimu-Nasca II.; Tiahuanaco.	Transitional Period.	Inca Empire.

N.B.—The chief difference between the Chronology here presented and that embodied in my paper on Culture Sequence in the Andean Area (read before the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists at Washington in December, 1915), is that my recent researches have made me see the necessity of regarding all the Chimu "cultures" as merely different phases in one continuous culture. Likewise, I have felt obliged to lengthen the Tiahuanaco culture as above. The Transitional Period which immediately precedes the Inca Empire in this Table should be understood to include the Late Chimu-Nasca culture referred to in Table VI. The Archaic Culture is represented here as the result of recent work done by Dr. Herbert Spinden and by myself.

The correlation of the Long Count with the *Ukahlay katunob* in Table I. is that proposed by Morley in 1910 and later amplified from time to time as his researches progressed. The most important point which it develops is, that it makes the *Ukahlay katunob* in the Books of Chilam Balam open with the date 9.0.0.0.0. a round number in Maya chronology, and the beginning of their first period of cultural brilliancy, the event corresponding to which is admittedly of a mythological character, as befitting the opening entry in a chronicle written at a much later date, as these *Ukahlay katunob* were. See, Morley, Sylvanus Griswold, 1910. *The Correlation of Maya and Christian Chronology.* American Journal of Archæology, 2nd ser. XIV, pages 193–204. 1920. *The Inscriptions at Copán.* Publication No. 219. Carnegie Institution of Washington.

LIST OF WORDS IN THE NAMES OF KINGS AND INCAS GIVEN BY MONTESINOS.

ALLI, part of Ranti Alli corrupted to Arantial, 79th king, 65
probably *Alli*, good

AMARU, 39th king, 53; 83rd king, 66
Amaru, a serpent

AMAUTA, 17th king. Lopez thinks that he began a new dynasty, because he is mentioned as heir and not son of the predecessor, 46; 18th king, 46; 20th king, 47; 23rd king, 48; 35th king, 52; 36th king, 52; 37th king, 52; 42nd king, 53; 43rd king, 54; 47th king, 54; 51st king, 54; 52nd king, 55; 53rd king, 55; 61st king, 58; 74th king, 63

ANAHUARQUE, daughter of the Lord of Choco, wife of Inti Capac, 5th king, 21

APU, first name of the second and third sons of Lloque Yupanqui, 83; also sons of Capac Yupanqui, 85

APUSQUI, 31st king, 50

ARANTIAL, corruption of Ranti Alli, 65

ATAGUALLPA, son of Huaina Capac, 123, 125

ATAUCHI, a name of the 25th king, 49; 32nd king, 51

AUCA, one of the four brothers, 4

AUQUI, 30th king, 49; 32nd king, 51; 45th king, 54; 57th king, 57; brother of Huaina Capac, 116, 125
In *Quichua*, Prince of the blood
In *Aymara*, a father

AYAR, first name of all four brothers, 4; 48th king, 54; 60th king, 58

AYAY, 33rd king, 51

CACHI, second name of one of the four brothers, 4
Cachi, salt

CALLA, part of the name of the second son of the 4th Inca, 85

CAPAC, 28 kings with *Capac* in their names, 6–15, 26–35, 35–38, 39–42, 45, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 63, 66, 67; the 3rd, 4th and 9th Incas also with *Capac* in their names, 83–85, 116–126

CAURI (Tupac), 78th king, 63

CAY, in the name of an Inca queen, 115

CAYO (Manco Amauta), 18th king, 46; 23rd king, 48; (Manco Auqui), 45th king, 54
Cay, this; *Ccaya*, the future

CHAHUA, CHAUA, CHAUHA, CHAUIN, in the names of Inca queens, 82, 83, 85
Chau, a particle meaning half

CHECLLA, part of the name of an Inca queen, 96

CHIMA, the 6th son of Yahuar Huacac, 6th Inca, 96

CHUQUI, part of the name of an Inca queen, 96

CIUACO, the name of the mother of the first Inca Rocca, 68–77

COCHA, name of the 7th Inca, 96–115

CORA, name of one of the four sisters, 4
Sarmiento has *Cura*

CORCA, part of the name of the 40th king, 53
Curcu, a beam

CORI, part of the name of an Inca queen, 85

COYA, part of the name of an Inca queen, 116

COZQUE (Sinchi), 4th king, 18–26; (Huaman Titu), 64th king, 63

Cuis (Manco), 65th king, 63
Cura, name of an Inca queen, 76
Curi (Tupac Amauta), 51st king, 55
Cussi, in Huaina Capac's former name, 117; also that of Huascar, his son, 124
Cuti, in name of the second son of Lloque Yupanqui, 83

Guanacauri, *see* Huanacauri

Hachi (Tancaray), Inca queen, 83
Hacoz, in name of Chanca chief, 21
Hinac, in the name of the 42nd king, 53
Hipa Huacum, one of the four sisters, 4
Sarmiento has *Ipacura*
Huacac, 6th Inca, 96
Huacum, in the names of three of the four sisters, 4
Sarmiento has *Huaco*
Huaina (Capac), 9th Inca, 116–126
Huallpa, a name of the third son of Yahuar Huacac, 96; real name of *Huaina Capac*, 117
Huaman, 61st king, 58; 63rd king, 62; 64th king, 63; 71st king, 63; 72nd king, 63
Huaman, a falcon
Huampar (Sairi Tupac), 41st king, 53; 44th king, 54
Huampar, a triangle or the mitre of the High Priest, 54
Huanacauri, 3rd king, 15–19; 70th king, 63
Huarma (Huira [Vira] Cocha), real name, *Sinchi Apusqui*, 31st king, 50
Huarma, a boy
Huascar (Titu), 12th king, 42; (Titu Tupac), 19th king, 46; son of Huaina Capac, 124
Huayna (Tupac), 69th king, 63; 77th king, 63
Huilla, in the name of 42nd king, 53
Huilla, legend or tradition
Huillca (Huaman), 71st king, 63; (Titu), 66th king, 63
Huillca, sacred
Huillcanota (Amauta), 53rd king, 55; named after the mountain near which he gained a victory
Huira (Cocha), 7th Inca, 96–115
Huispa (Titu Auqui), 81st king, 66
Human, a name of the third son of Sinchi Roca, 96
Huquiz (Yahuar), 49th king, 54; (Nina Auqui), 57th king, 57

Illa (Tupac Capac), 55th king, 57; (Toca), 87th king, 67
Illa, light
Illpay, part of the names of two Inca queens, 85, 96
Inti (Capac Yupanqui), 5th king, 26–35; (Capac Pirua Amaru), 38; (Capac Amauta), 47th king, 54; (Maita Capac), 90th king, 67; in the proper name of Huaina Capac, 117, and of Huascar, his son, 124

Lloque (Tupac Amauta), 17th king, 46; (Yupanqui), 2nd Inca, 82
Lloque, left handed
Lluqui (Yupanqui), 26th king, 49; 88th king, 67; (Ticac), 27th king, 49

Maita (Inti Capac), 90th king, 67; 3rd Inca, 83; sons of Sinchi Roca, Yahuar Huacac, 96; son of Huira Cocha, 115
Manco, 17 kings with *Manco* in their names, 5–7, 7–15, 35–38, 47, 48, 49, 51, 54, 57, 58, 63, 66; also in the names of the sons of Inca Rocca and Lloque Yupanqui, 82, 83
Marasco (Pachacuti), 24th king, 48, 49
Marcayutu, *see* Yutu
Micay, daughter of the chief of Hillaca, in the valley of Yucay. Wife of the 3rd king, 17, 19

Nina (Huqui Auqui), 57th king, 57
Nina, fire

Ocllo, names of wives of Incas, 116, 124

PACHACUTI I (Sinchi Cozque), 4th king, 20–22; so named because 1,000 years had passed since the Deluge
II (Titu Yupanqui), 14th king, 43–45
III (Marasco), 24th king, 48, 49
IV (Manco Auqui Tupac), 30th king, 49; reformed the counting of the year
V (Hinac Huilla Amauta), 42nd king, 53; 2,000 years since the Deluge
VI (Titu Yupanqui), 62nd king, 58; 3,000 years from the Deluge completed
VII (Tupac Cauri), 78th king, 63; 3,500 years from the Deluge completed
VIII (Inti Maita Capac) 90th king, 67; 4,000 years from the Deluge completed

PAHUAC, a son of Yahuar Huacac, 96
Pahuani, I run

PAUCAR, a brother of Pahuac, 96

PAULLU (Ticac, Pirua), 16th king, 45; (Toto Capac), 22nd king, 47; (Atauchi Capac), 25th king, 49; (Raymi), 73rd king, 63

PILCO, name of one of the four sisters, 4; not in Sarmiento

PIRUA (Pacari Manco), 1st king, father of Manco Capac, 5–7; (Huanacauri), 3rd king, 15–18; (Inti Capac Amaru), 38
Pirua, ancient name of the great God, 50; storehouse of all things, 50

PUTANO (Uman), young son of Inca Mayta Capac, 83

QUICHO (Titu Huaman), 63rd king, 62

QUILAGO, name of a female chief near Quito, 118–120

QUISPI (Titu), 13th king, 43
Quispi, crystal

QUITU (Auqui Atauchi), 32nd king, 51
Quitu, dove

RAHUA (Coya Ocllo), mother of Inca Huascar, 124

RANTI (Alli), 79th king, 65; corrupted to *Arantial*

RAYMI (Capac Amauta), 37th king, 52; Festivals named after him; (Titu Cozque), 56th king, 57; (Paullu), 73rd king, 63

ROCA, ROCCA (Chinchi Amauta), 35th king, 42; (Titu), 89th king, 67; 1st Inca, 72–82; (Sinchi), 5th Inca, 85–96

RUNTU CAY, wife of Inca Huira Cocha, 101, 115
Runtu, an egg

SAYHUA (Capac), 9th king, 39
Sayhua, a land mark

SAYRI (Huampar Tupac), 41st king, 53; 44th king, 54; (Tupac), 67th king, 63
Sayri, tobacco

SINCHI (Cozque), 4th king, 18–26; (Apusqui), 31st king, 50; (Ayar Manco), 60th king, 58; (Roca), 5th Inca, 85–96

TACAC, a younger son of Lloque Yupanqui, 83

TACCO (Ayar Capac), 11th king, 39–42; (Huaman Amauta), 61st king, 58

TANCARAY, wife of Inca Mayta Capac, 83

TARSI (Huaman), younger son of Inca Sinchi Roca, 96

TICAC (Paullu Pirua), 16th king, 45; (Tupac), 21st king, 47; (Lluqui), 27th king, 49
Tica, a brick

TINI (Capac Yupanqui), 8th king, 38

TITU, 14 kings with *Titu* in their names, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 54, 57, 58, 63, 66, 67
Titu, august, magnanimous. Name of one of Manco's sons in Spanish times

TUPAC, names of the four brothers end with this word, 4; 20 kings with Tupac in their names, 38, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 63; (Yupanqui), 8th Inca, 115–116; (Paucar), a younger son of Yahuar Huacac, 96; (Auqui), brother of Huiana Capac, 116
Tupac, royal, resplendent

Uchu, a name of one of the four brothers, 4

Uira (Huira) Cocha, name of God taken by the 34th king, 51, 52; use of name forbidden, 52; taken by the 7th Inca, 97

Uman, second son of Inca Mayta Capac, 83

Umpiri, second son of Inca Capac Yupanqui, 85

Urcon, second son of Inca Huira Cocha, 115

Viraquira, third son of Inca Sinchi Roca, 96

Yahuar (Huacac), 6th Inca, 96; (Huquiz), 49th king, 54
Yahuar, blood

Yalli (Paucar), second son of Inca Yahuar Huacac, 96

Yupanqui, name appears in those of 13 kings, 26–35, 38, 39, 43–45, 49, 54, 57, 58, 63, 67; also of 5 Incas, 82, 83, 96–115
Yupanqui, you may count

Yutu (Marca), the fourth son of Inca Yahuar Huacac, 96
Yutu, a partridge
Marca, a terrace, village on a hill

Zacay, third son of Capac Yupanqui, 85

QUICHUA WORDS IN MONTESINOS.

Achihua, shade, 94
Aclla cona, chosen virgins, 31
Allcacanqui, intercalary days, 51
Alcahuizas, wizard, 60
Alli, good, 34
Amautas, wise man, 14, 18, 21, 38, 39, 40, 43, 51, 55, 57, 62, 74, 91, 95, 104, 119
Antara, Pandean pipes, 121
Apu, chief, 85
Atau, fortune of war, 123

Callana, a large pan, 88
Canpim, in you, 34
Capac, rich, 20, 30, 35
Carcca, was, 34
Caycay, to be, 34
Chacra, farm, 96
Chanssi, to level (?), 6
Chaquira, jewel, 87
Chasqui, messenger, 33, 34
Chiqui, bad luck, 60, 87
Cocha, lake, 7, 10, 21
Cozcoani, to level, 6
Cozcochanqui, to level, 6
Cuis, guinea pig, 82
Cumbi, fine cloth, 114, 125
Curaca, chief, 107
Cuyancarumi, idol, 86

Hatun, great, 14
Huaca, idol, 77, 86
Huacanqui, love filtre, 86
Huallpa, fowl, 123
Huaman, falcon, 21
Huaranga, one hundred, 31
Huarma, boy, 51
Huata, year, 34
Huaylli, song, 94
Huincha, garland, 72
Huno, million, 31
Huquiz, leap year, 54

Illa, light, resplendent, 4, 7, 10, 21, 29, 36, 39, 47, 50, 52
Illaris, Equinox, 53
Inti, sun, 20, 32, 34
Iscay, two, 34

Llauto, fringe, 82

Mamacona, matrons, 31
Mingas, meetings for tilling the land, 45
Mitimaes, colonists, 101, 113
Mochan, worship, 78

Ojota, shoe, 80

Pachaca, hundred, 31
Pahuac, runner, 96
Palla, lady, 32, 98, 110
Pilco, bird, 86
Pucara, fortress, 61, 108

Quilca, writing, 64
Quipu, record by knots, 43, 64
Quipu camayoc, reader of quipus, 74, 95

Raymi, festival, 52
Runa, man, 14

Tampu, tavern, 99
Tarpuntay, priest, 60
Tiana, seat, 10, 73
Tici, foundation, 7, 10, 21, 24, 29, 36, 39, 47, 50, 52
Tincuc, confluence of rivers, 87
Tocricoc, governor, 31
Tumi, knife, 112
Tunqui, rupicola, 86

Uira (as *Cocha*), depository of all things

Yachachic, teacher, 21, 47
Yahuar, blood, 96
Yutu, partridge, 96

CHAPTER I.

OF THE MANNER IN WHICH GOVERNMENT AND GOOD ORDER WERE FIRST ESTABLISHED AMONG THE INDIANS OF PIRU.

OPHIR, having settled Hamerica, instructed his sons and his grandsons in the fear of God and in the observance of natural Law. They lived in accordance with his teachings many years, the fathers passing on to their sons the [duty of] respect to the Creator of all things in return for the benefits received [from Him] and especially for the Deluge by which He liberated their progenitors. They continued in this good condition for many years, according to the manuscript referred to,[1] about five hundred, counting the years given in

[1] This manuscript was doubtless one of those written by Father Blas Valera, or possibly it was the work of some other of the early Jesuit writers from whom Montesinos derived his information. Jimenez gives a quotation from the first book, which I translate :—

"Now it is needful for me to refer to another notice concerning the antiquity of this name of Piru which I found in a manuscript book. I bought it at a public auction in the city of Lima, and I hold it in high esteem and preserve it with care. It treats of Piru and of its Emperors. When I was in Quito I communicated with a man who was very curious with regard to these matters, and I found out that he who composed it (the book) was a very verbose man of that city, an old inhabitant of it, who was aided by the verbal notices which the Blessed Bishop D. Fray Luis Lopez (de Solis) gave him, and by the examination of the Indians which the Bishop himself had made. This man, then, in treating of the etimology of the name of Piru, says in Discurso I. cap. 9, that the Indians used many names full of metaphore, that, as the authors did not comprehend them, as well on account of their antiquity as on account of their ignorance of their derivations

the book; but, according to the calculation of the *amautas*, Peruvian historians, it was in the second sun after the Creation of the world, and, computing the time by ordinary years, it comes to be two thousand years, provided that it was in the last part of the second sun. And because these two suns were not entirely spent when the Deluge befell, three hundred and forty years being needed for their completion, according to our more common reckoning, it comes, in the opinion of these amautas, [that the events in question took place in] this age or period of the said three hundred and forty years.[1]

But they erred, for Ophir, grandson of Noah, supposing that when he settled Hamerica[2] it was three hundred and forty years after the Deluge, and during the remaining one hundred and sixty years [of that sun] his sons and descendants lived in the fear and love of God and of their fellow-creatures, with all peacefulness and without quarrels or dissensions. This lasted but a short while in Piru, for its inhabitants, of whom

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they could not ascertain their proper meanings. In proof of this he produces certain curiosities of which I avail myself in this book. One of them is that one of the Peruvian kings who settled in the city of Cuzco was called Pirua Pacari Manco, to judge by one of the acclamations with which his vassals invoke him, his proper name having been Topa (Tupac) Aiar Uchu Manco, as will be seen further on when we treat of him."

This reference to a book based in part upon early statements made by Indians in the Quito district is important. It is much to be hoped that Dr. Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, Sr. Larrea, or Sr. Monge, or some other of the enterprising historical researchers now at work in Quito, will endeavour to unearth this manuscript work.

In this connection it is well to note that Don Fray Luis Lopez de Solis was the fourth Bishop of Quito. He was an Augustine, and a native of Salamanca, Spain. In 1546 he came to Peru. After long years filled with honourable ecclesiastical labours, he became Bishop of Quito in 1593. He died in 1600.

[1] I do not know to what cabalistic and superstitious calculations our author can be referring here. It is not unlikely that he put the date of the Creation at 4004 B.C., as many others have done.—M.

[2] Montesinos always writes America with the H, because, according to him, that word (Hamerica) is a mysterious anagram of *Hec Maria*, the Mother of Christ, and not derived from Amerigo.—J.

there were now a goodly number, began to have discords among themselves concerning the waters and pastures. For purposes of defence the *ayllos* and families elected chiefs, according as the occasions of war and peace offered themselves. With the passage of time some men by force and cunning gained advantages over the rest and began to lord it over them. And so, little by little, some came to predominate more than others.

At this time which, as far as I have been able to find out, was about six hundred years after the Deluge, all these provinces were filled with dwellers. Many came by way of Chile, others through the Andes, others by way of Tierra Firme and the Southern Sea, so that the coasts were peopled from the Island of Santa Elena and Puerto Viejo down to Chile. This is to be gathered from the poetry and ancient songs of the Indians, and it is in conformity with what grave authors say to the effect that one hundred and fifty years after the Deluge there were so many peoples who increased and multiplied in those lands of Armenia that the patriarch Noah, seeing so great a number of persons, was moved by the urgent necessity and by the divine precept which men had from God to fill the world, and he commanded his sons and grandsons to go forth with their families in search of lands to settle. And there is no lack [of authors] who say that the patriarch Noah himself went forth to point out and allot the lands, and he made a trip around the whole earth. And so, at this time, the first settlers came forth from Armenia and many more came on other occasions, some following the said course, and some going by sea as Cedrenus and Philo in his *Antiquities* relate, according to which it would not be difficult to believe that Noah had been in Piru.

The first settlers to arrive [in Peru] came near to the site where Cuzco now is, in the guise and form of a family. According to the account of the amautas

there were four brothers, called Ayar Manco Tupac, Ayar Cachi Tupac, Ayar Auca Tupac, and Ayar Uchu.[1] There were also four sisters whose names were: Mama Cora, Hipa Huacum, Mama Huacum, and Pilco Huacum. The oldest brother climbed a hill called Huana Cauri, and unwinding a sling from his head, he shot four stones with it, indicating the four parts of the world, and saying with great shouts that by that action he took possession of the land for himself and in the name of his brothers and their wives. The hills which he indicated thus with the stones he called Antisuyo, toward the East; toward the West was Contisuyo; toward the South was Colla [suyo].[2] When they acclaimed the kings they said *Tahuantin suyo Capac* which means Lord of the four parts of the world.

The three brothers deeply regretted seeing the eldest brother so forward in matters of government and in general superiority, for they supposed from what he had done that he wished to be their leader. He who most observed the intention of the oldest brother was the youngest, and being a vigorous and captious man he proposed to conduct himself in such a way that he should be left alone and no one should hamper his command. Putting aside various poetic fables which the Indians relate about this matter, the most certain version is that he took this course in order to liberate himself from his brothers. He ordered the first to enter a cave and beseech Illatici[3] Huira Cocha to give them seeds with his hand and his blessing for the sake of the fecundity

[1] For Cachi the original says Chachi, but I bear in mind the fact that the author was wont to use Ch with the Italian sound, or as an equivalent for C, and I suppose that it was his purpose to refer to Ayar Cachi as do all the other writers who relate the legend of the four brothers.—J.

[2] He neglected to mention *Chincha suyo* or the northern side.—J. The suyos, of course, were not hills. They were the four great provinces or quarters into which the Inca empire was divided just a generation or two before the Spanish conquest.—M.

[3] This name is frequently written *Itatici* in the original.—J.

of them. The brother believed him, and entered into the cave, and the youngest one put a great stone up against the mouth and other small stones around it, so that the cave was left walled up and the wretched man interred. Tupac Ayar Uchu carried the second brother among some high rocks under pretext of looking for the oldest one, and with them [the rocks] he killed him, and he gave the women and his third brother to understand that Illatici Huira Cocha had converted him into a stone, so that in his company he might pray for the succession of all [the rest]. And later they carried to Cuzco the stone which Tupac Ayar Uchu pointed out.

The brother who remained, liking these things but little, fled to other provinces, and Tupac Ayar Uchu said to his sisters that he had gone up into the sky in order that from there he might take charge of all the mountains, plains, fountains and rivers, in order to defend them from freezing, lightning and clouds and to be the patron and advocate of the government which was to be throughout the world, as son of the sun, and [he said] that he had placed Pirua Pacari Manco (there) because he was to be as God of the earth.

Tupac Ayar Uchu, commonly called Pirua Pacari Manco, now seeing himself free from his brothers, journeyed until he arrived at the place where Cuzco now is with his sisters and wives, to whom he gave understanding of the great favour in which they were to hold the three brothers, and [he told them that] he was to build a city and to be lord over the living, and, in order to set up among them true respect, [he ordered them] to esteem him highly and to speak before him with all humility, as [he was] the sole son of the sun. The place looked well to the oldest sister, and she told her brother to build there the city, saying "in these *cuzcos*," which means "in this site where

these stones are that look like hoards piled up." And some say that it was from this event that this first city got its name of Cuzco. And others say that the site where the city was founded was enclosed with hills and had some depressions which it was necessary to level with earth, and this word to level is expressed by the verb *cozcoani, cozcochanqui* or *chanssi*,[1] and that from this came the name of Cuzco.

Pirua assembled the members of his family, who were many and served him as servants and vassals, following the example which his sister gave, and she did so with all pleasure in order to have the sons whom Pirua should love the most. When all had assembled, then he commanded them to pile up rocks and to level the site referred to with much earth, and there he founded many small houses in which they dwelt in the capacity of citizens. They had some grudges among themselves on the subjects of crops and cattle and water, and in each case of this sort the litigants appeared before him, and he caused his first-born son, whom he loved more than the others, to settle the difficulty, saying that such were the commands of Illatici Huira Cocha. So great was the respect in which father and son were held that their laws were obeyed as being inviolable, and no one dared to question them. Ordinarily Pirua was in retirement in his house, revered as son of the sun, not only now by his own four families, but also by the surrounding people who, under his direction, had been reduced to villages of small huts in the neighbourhood of Cuzco.

The Indians say that this Pirua Manco was converted into a stone like the other brothers, and that his son Manco Capac placed him with them until the time when they built temples for them. But the truth is that

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[1] Thus the original. The verbs to which Montesinos refers are:—*Cuzcachani*, to level, to make the unequal equal; and *cuzquini*, to break up clods, to break new earth, to break the ground.—J.

Pirua Manco was the first who ruled in Cuzco, and he was not an idolater, for he adored the God of the Patriarch Noah and of his descendants, nor was there any other God than the Creator of the world, whom he called Illatici Huira Cocha. This prince came to Cuzco. . . .,[1] and, having lived for many years after the Deluge, he reigned more than sixty years and died at an age of more than one hundred, and he left as his heir and successor Manco Capac.[2]

CHAPTER II.

HOW THE FAMILIES OF CUZCO RAISED UP MANCO CAPAC AS THEIR LORD, AND OF AN EMBASSY WHICH OTHER LORDS SENT TO HIM.

As soon as Pirua Manco died, the four families who acknowledged him as son of the sun and his son Manco Capac whom he left to them, ordering that they obey him as such and as their Lord, raised him up as prince and Lord of all the region with loud acclaim and feasts and dances and banquets. The Lords who dwelt around about Cuzco took heed of this, and they spoke anxiously of the origin of Manco Capac and his father, suspecting that as he was son of the sun, product of the earth and without a human father, he would be able to cause

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[1] Without doubt the date at which he came is lacking.—J.

[2] The standard version of the Ayar legend is that given by Sir Clements Markham. It can, of course, hardly be regarded as a sober history. Instead, we should look upon it merely as a charmingly picturesque folk-legend perhaps having some esoteric significance now lost to us.—M. Consult:—

MARKHAM, SIR CLEMENTS R. 1910. *The Incas of Peru.* London. Pp. 48—57.

innovations; [and they did so], chiefly [on account of] what their families and vassals divulged about Illatici's having spoken in guarantee of them [Manco Capac and his father], and they [the other families] acclaimed him as son of the sun and as a creature more than human, so that this opinion became general in the whole region. Suspecting, then, that this man might take from them their command and overlordship if they did not prevent him at the outset, these Lords assembled their wisest old men, and they consulted among themselves as to the difficulty which would result if the son of the sun should try to enforce some innovations [such as] pretending to make his authority greater, and with perfect accord they agreed that those who took the auspices and the wizards (for they had many kinds of them) should call upon Fire, who was the first deity that they had, in the first place, and then upon Mother Earth, and should beseech them to reply [telling] their intention [in the matter]. For this purpose they made ready with many fasts and sacrifices of sheep and lambs[1] which they consumed in the deity Fire at the foot of the stone idol which represented him, and answer was vouchsafed them in these words: "Pirua Manco and Manco Capac, kings of Cuzco, and their descendants, will prevail against adverse fortune, and they will force into obedience to themselves the inhabitants of all this land, for they are the sons of the sun, in virtue of which they have the said felicity, and I have seen this first Lord measure the whole land by paces, and so, without fail, their descendants will be favoured by good fortune, nor will it ever draw apart from them, for they will have adverse fortune prostrate at their feet."

This reply greatly hampered the Lords, and they discussed diverse things among themselves for some

[1] Of the llama or vicuña kind.—M.

days. Some said that before Manco Capac should have more forces and implements for war they should attack him with all their resources, by fire and blood, until they destroyed him and drove him forth from Cuzco or at least from its neighbourhood, or until they placed him in subjection and vassalage. Others said that it would be better for them to join forces with him on a plea of friendship and relationship, this bond being inviolable between illustrious people such as Manco and themselves, and [they said] this was the most in conformity with what the oracle said. This last resolution was approved by all, and in confirmation of it they made great sacrifices, and among them that of a large sheep, offering it to their idols, in order that by the entrails of this sheep they might learn his [the god's] will, by seeing the prognostication of a good or an evil end of the course they had chosen. After the sacrifice they opened the sheep, and in its entrails they found prognosticated a good outcome. Thereupon these Lords sent ambassadors [chosen from] the most noted of their vassals, with rich gifts and jewels, vessels of gold and silver, and many garments of the finest wool, to Manco Capac, offering him peace and perpetual friendship, and in confirmation of it they offered him in marriage the daughter of the most important of the Lords.

The great Manco Capac was in Cuzco when the ambassadors arrived, and, prostrate on the ground before him, [speaking] with bland and humble words, they laid their errand before him. The king received them with a face full of love, and he gave them audience. Having put some questions to them, and having satisfied himself concerning some things which he wished to know, he told them that he was much gratified by their coming to his house and court, and he ordered his vassals to give them very honourable lodging, giving them to

understand that he would despatch them presently. They were made much of at the court of king Manco during many days. And, having offered up many sacrifices [during this time], the great Manco Capac, with the accord of the old men of his council, caused the ambassadors to appear before him. And, being seated in public upon his royal *tiana*,[1] with a joyful face he said to the ambassadors: "Illatici Huira Cocha and the sun, my father, in their hidden wisdom have determined upon my succession and upon the felicitous precepts by which those of my line must govern themselves, and for this reason it is necessary for me to embrace what they have ordained and determined upon, and were I to do otherwise it would cut short the thread of my happy destiny. And so I determine, with the advice of my people, to do what you have asked me to do, receiving your Lords as friends and brothers, and receiving their daughters as security for their good faith and mine." The ambassadors, hearing a reply so desirable, prostrated themselves upon the ground and remained thus for a great while, confirming with their silence and humility their consent to the great favour [vouchsafed to them]. The people of king Manco raised up the ambassadors, and thenceforward they gave them the best and most eminent positions and seats, and they feasted them many days, presenting them with rich garments, made of various colours, jewels and vessels of gold and silver. The king, when it seemed to him that the time had come, despatched them, sending with them other ambassadors to lay the matter before the Lords and tell them of the acceptance of Manco, their Lord, promising them, on his part, perpetual friendship and relationship through the bond of matrimony with their daughters to whom the ambassadors of Manco

[1] The *tiana* was a stool or backless chair, made of wood covered over with plates of gold.—M.

Capac presented the gifts which they bore[1] and made deep obeisances before them.

The Lords gave orders for the conducting of their daughters to the point of carrying out what they so much desired, and, with the approval of all, they assembled all their vassals, and, in the form of a well-ordered army, they held some reviews in order to enter Cuzco with all possible circumstance, and in order to give the inhabitants of it [Cuzco] to understand their power and forces, mindful also, lest the king Manco should intend some trick, to be found in readiness for resistance. Manco Capac had news of it all through some hidden spies which he had in all places, and so, knowing of the assembling of those Lords, he gave orders to his captains with all caution to be in readiness in case it were necessary to wage war upon those who might irritate them [the people of Cuzco]. For this purpose they fortified some high places both inside and outside the city of Cuzco, placing there guards and garrisons of their most valiant men. With these precautions and provisions both sides were making ready. And the essential things [were done] for the feasts and rejoicings in connexion with the new marriage, but it was disturbed, when on the point of being solemnized, by a strange event which suddenly befell.

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[1] The text of Jimenez de la Espada says *los cuales*, which, of course, would refer to the chiefs and not to their daughters. But it is more likely that *las cuales*, referring to the daughters, was intended, and the translation assumes that it was.—M.

CHAPTER III.

OF A STRANGE EVENT WHICH TOOK PLACE IN CUZCO WHILE THE KING MANCO CAPAC AND THE LORDS OF THE REGION WERE MAKING READY FOR THE MARRIAGE FEASTS.

It has already been said above that, in these times, the peoples who came forth from Armenia to settle the world were of infinite numbers, a fact which helps to clarify the following event and other similar ones. For the origen of these peoples, and even that of foreign folks, is falsely recorded by the Indian poets in remarkable poems after the manner of those of the Greeks and the Latins. But believing that these men procede from Adam and were not created separately in this land, as their ancient poems relate it, we must say that those who came hither were from Armenia, and that they were seeking lands in which to live, as others did, of which many examples might be shown, if it were not for the brevity at which I am aiming.

The events, then, of these families which came forth from Armenia at divers times, whether they be now the inhabitants of Chile or of Tucuman,[1] or whether they came there later, at length led them, in their search for lands in which to dwell, to the [time when] they arrived in Piru. The king of Cuzco and the Lords, his fathers-in-law, being engaged in preparations for the marriage, great troops of people arrived without martial order nor with a well-formed camp, and they attacked the city of Cuzco. The sight of so many warriours put great perturbation into the hearts of Manco Capac and

[1] Tucuman is in north-western Argentina, a region which was the seat of an interesting pre-Inca culture.—M.

his fathers-in-law and those who were with them, and what they most marvelled at was that from the Andes and from the direction of the province of the Collas,[1] which then had but few inhabitants, so many people should come out. Manco displayed on this occasion his valiant and generous heart. He arranged his troops in good order, and he distributed them among the strong and dominating places, giving orders to their captains as to which troops were to attack first, and which second and third, leaving others in readiness to come up in case of dire necessity. The Lords were struck with wonder at seeing the king so courageous and diligent, and they always accompanied him in his preparations. It caused much more wonder among the hordes of strangers to see such precautions, and, having learned of his intentions, the chief of them went to where the king was, and they told him that they had not come to make war or to do any evil, but that they had merely come in search of good lands in which to live, and sow their crops, and raise their cattle. And the scouts and spies whom Manco Capac had sent out said the same. So that he understood the matter, and he assigned them places in the North and in the South, and so those peoples were scattered in divers regions without any harm being done to anyone although, on account of their hunger, they destroyed the fields and carried off the sheep which they found. And the delay occupied six or seven days.

The people of Cuzco took many of them as hostages, and others remained of their own free will to serve Manco Capac. Some workmen who came with these tribes were especially devoted to the king. They were very tall men of lusty limbs. Others offered themselves to

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[1] *Andes* here means *Antis*, the generic name for the savage tribes of the montaña or forest regions in the East. The *Collas* dwelt, and dwell, around Lake Titicaca.—M.

the king in order to work his lands and fields, and they are the *atumrunas* who to this day have, in Piru, the reputation of being lowly and humble people whose employment is solely in this sort of work.[1] The rest passed onward and settled in Pomacocha, Quino and Huaitara, the Plains and Chachapoyas, and many of them, for some unknown reason, made canoes and embarked upon the river Apurimac, called Marañon, as the amautas affirm, in order to go down the river in their balsas.

A very ancient tradition of the Indians says that from the district of the Audience of Quito from the South bank and the North bank [of the Marañon] came at several time great troops of people as well by land as by sea, and they settled the coasts of the Ocean, and went inland by way of Tierra Firme, so that they filled up these extensive kingdoms which we call Piru,[2] as I said in chapter C of the first Book.[3]

In the confusion caused by the coming of so many

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[1] More reasonable, it appears to me, is the common opinion of writer on Peruvian antiquities to the effect that the word *hatun-runa* has the meaning of large men, made especially for the toil and occupations of the fields and the duties of the masculine sex.—J.

[2] In this tale of migrations southward into Peru from what is now Ecuador there may well be some elements of truth.—M.

[3] A mistake for Chapter 6, the title of which is: *De los primeros pobladores de Piru y de sus progresos.* There Montesinos says :—

> " The matters of Piru [are] well pondered and discussed with old Indians and persons versed in the provinces and languages, and I have likewise availed myself of papers which must be credited, and I have inspected it all with curious attention. Speaking with the modesty due when treating of a matter hidden by Holy Writ and unknown for so long a time previous to our century, I say that Piru and the other [countries] of Hamerica were peopled by Ophir, grandson of Noah, and by their descendants. These came from the East, establishing their settlements as far as Piru, which is the last land in the world as far as their voyage is concerned. Here, seeing its wealth of gold, silver, very precious stones, pearls, woods, animals, and beautiful birds, they fixed their name and founded their greatest cities. Events of later times afterwards brought other peoples thither, Tyrians, Phœnicians, and other different nations whom these people brought in their fleets, and they settled almost all of those extensive provinces."—J.

barbarous peoples to Cuzco, the Lords who had come to the feasts retired to their provinces, and in them they collected many of the newcomers, giving them lands. Thus much time was spent, and during it these Lords died, and the great Manco Capac, without having carried out his promised marriage, died fifty years old in the thirtieth year of his reign, much to the grief of his vassals. His son and heir, Huanacauri Pirua, first of this name and third Peruvian king, succeeded him. He ordered the making of certain preservatives in order to keep the body of his father from decay, and he dedicated to him a special temple as a resting-place until the building of the sumptuous temple of the sun which this (king) began, and which his successors later finished in the plaza of Coricancha, as a special oracle which they had.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW, THROUGH THE DEATHS OF MANCO CAPAC AND OF THE NEIGHBOURING LORDS, GREAT WARS BROKE FORTH BETWEEN THEIR SUCCESSORS, AND OF THE END THAT WAS PUT TO THE MATTER BY A STRANGE EVENT.

As soon as he took possession of the government, Huanacaui Pirua tried to give solidity in all things to the state, and he conferred with his neighbours and officials who besought him to give them peace and amity. The successors of the other Lords in the region, with the passing of so many years, had forgotten the agreement which their fathers had made with Manco Capac, and so, because of the jealousy which the happy fortunes of his son caused them to feel, and because

of the work of evil meddlers, their anger and ill-will began to prevail and sharp quarrels arose.

It came to pass that in an action fought at dawn, the enemies of the Sons of the Sun (thus were the people of Cuzco called), captured, among many other prisoners, a small boy, son of Huanacaui Pirua. They carried him off with his nurse in high triumph and held him under strong guard for several days. They desired to put the lad to death, but they restrained themselves because, by that sacrifice, and on account of that spectacle, they would make it necessary for their whole army to hold itself in readiness for everlasting enmity with the Sons of the Sun.

Finally, when they were all together, they commanded that this boy be brought forth (he had not ceased to weep by day or by night since he was taken prisoner), naked, in order to be sacrificed. When he was put in the place for the holocaust, he began to weep tears of blood, which caused great wonderment to all.[1] There-

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[1] It is obvious that in this chapter Montesinos has related a number of events (such as the incident of the child who wept blood) which really belong to a much later period. At the same time, it is to be noted that the mother of the weeper of blood (in reality the Inca Yahuar Huacac) was named Mama Micay, just as Montesinos says. See in this connection :—

Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro. 1907. *History of the Incas.* Translated and edited by Sir Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt Society. London. Pp. 71—76.

Garcilasso de la Vega, el Ynca. 1869—1871. *The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas.* Translated and edited by Sir Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt Society. London. 2 volumes. I. pp. 327—347.

Ondegardo, Polo de. 1916—1917. *La Religion y Gobierno de los Incas.* Edition of Horacio H. Urteaca and Carlos B. Romero. Lima. 2 volumes. II. pp. 45—95.

Fernandez de Palencia, Diego. 1571. *Historia del Peru.* Seville. Parte II, Lib. 3, Cap. 5, p. 125 verso.

Cobo, Bernabe. 1890—1895. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo.* Edition of Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. Seville. 4 volumes. III. pp. 145—147.

The name of the father of the weeping boy as given by Montesinos is Huanacaui Pirua. This seems to call for brief notice, for in most accounts, and later on in that of our author, the name is given as Inca Rocca. *Huanacauri* is, by most writers, said to be the sacred hill not far from Cuzco where the puberty ceremonies of Inca youths took

fore, with great respect, they gave him back to his nurse. And when the seers and astrologers were consulted, reflecting upon this marvel never heard of nor seen before, they replied that it was best that the wonderful child should be restored to his parents, because from this there would result peace with them, and from the opposite course would result the persecutions of ill fortune, for it would be contrary to the wishes of the Sun. With this menace in mind, they decided to send back the boy to his father; and they did send him back with many presents, beseeching Huanacaui that thenceforth he would have them as his friends. The king of Cuzco received this message with great pleasure, and, as a pledge to the peace which they sought from him, he commanded great feasts and rejoicings, great banquets and dances, to be held, and the captain general of the neighbouring Lords was present at them. Some of these Lords still had many quarrels among themselves, which consorts ill with good rule, and the king[1] established himself as arbiter, in order to settle them, leaving all greatly obliged to him so that thenceforth they all served him with great fidelity. Huanacaui still further strengthened his position by marrying a daughter of the Lord of a village called Hillaca, in the valley of Yucay; this lady was called Mama Micay, and she bore him many sons.

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place. It is, of course, not impossible that the name of this hill should have been applied to it in order to preserve the memory of some half-mythical chieftain of long ago. See, in this connection :—

MARKHAM, 1910, pp. 127—132; JOYCE, 1912, p. 112 ff.; BEUCHAR, 1912, p. 622.

Also :—

SALCAMAYHUA, JUAN DE SANTA CRUZ PACHACUTI-YAMQUI. 1873. *An Account of the Antiquities of Peru.* Edited by Sir Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt Society. London. P. 80.

Two other interesting points in this chapter are the name of Sinchi Cozque, which Montesinos gives to the founder of Cuzco, and his description of how buildings were made without derricks, and so on.

[1] The text says *el rey Manco.*

At the time of this event, the first son of Huanacaui, called Sinchi Cozque, was a lad of good growth and beautiful disposition, and he was greatly beloved by all the subjects of his father. The amautas, who know the events of those times by very ancient traditions passed from hand to hand, say that when this prince was reigning there were letters, and also men very wise in them whom they call *amautas*, and that these men taught reading and writing. The principal science was astrology; as far as I am able to learn they wrote on the leaves of the plantain-tree which they dried and then wrote upon, whence the idea came to Juan Coctovito in his *Itinerario Hierosolimitano y Siriano* (lib. I., cap. 14, fol. 92), that the ancients wrote upon these leaves, and that the lines which are used in parchments in Italy to-day owe their origin to this custom. And in Chile, when paper for his *Araucana* was lacking to D. Alonso de Arcila,[1] an Indian filled the need with leaves of the plantain-tree, and on them he wrote great portions of his poem, as the padre Acosta says. Also, they wrote on stones. A Spaniard found among the buildings of Quinoa, three leagues from Buamanga, a stone with some characters which no one could understand. And thinking that the memory of the *guaca* was written there, he kept the stone for the sake of understanding it better. These letters were lost to the Peruvians through an event which befell in the time of Pachacuti Sixth, as we shall see in the proper place.

Huanacaui arrived at the age of decrepitude, and, the hour of his death approaching, he called to him all his sons and daughters, and, amid the weeping of all, he took his farewell, charging them to obey as their king and Lord their eldest brother Sinchi Cozque. Huanacaui died at the age of ninety years, having reigned

[1] Thus our text; should be Ercilla.

fifty, and his son Sinchi Cozque made for him a special interment, depositing him in his private temple until such a time as that of the Sun should be finished, for he now determined to begin its construction, together with that of the sumptuous edifices of the city of Cuzco. The work was hampered by the envy which overpowered the neighbouring Lords who, seeing that he was a mere boy and that he was not the son of Mama Micay his stepmother, wife of Huanacaui his father, and despising the counsel of the old men, decided to make war upon him. They penetrated with armed forces as far as Cuzco; the king went out to receive them with high spirits. His enemies boasted that they were going to make him a tributary and take away his power. The king confided more in the justice of his cause than in his forces, because the quickness of the foe gave him neither place nor opportunity to assemble his men and arrange them for military purposes. He gave battle to his enemies near a village called Muhina, near a lake whither the enemy had retired, and it was a very bloody battle. They yielded to him, and, killing many of them, he kept the chiefs alive; but afterwards, in payment for their excesses, he took from them not only their lordships but their lives. As the result of this valorous deed, Sinchi Cozque augmented his kingdom and increased his reputation, and made himself greatly dreaded by all his neighbours.

He returned to Cuzco very triumphant, and soon decided to found the city again. He commanded that houses of stone should be built, that it should be taken from the site itself, filling the spaces with earth and small stones. Also he ordered that large stones should be brought from other places, but whence they came cannot be found out. They worked them with picks and axes made of stones from rivers and filed as if they were made of steel. Some officials assisted at the making

of the implements; others helped with the stones; still others with the buildings. They had no derricks with which to lift the stones into place, so they used this device: They banked the earth at a moderate angle up to the top of newly completed first tier of stones; then, with human force, they carried up a second tier, rolling the stone over and over, however large it might be, and they adjusted it to the wall very slowly and accurately. And they say that this city of Cuzco took its name from that of the king who began it. Sinchi Cozque lived more than a hundred years, reigning more than sixty. They say that he was very wise and that he taught the people to use the ploughs which they use to-day. And in this time they say that a thousand years after the Deluge were completed, and for this reason they called him Pachacuti and he was the first who used this name. This king had many sons, for he had made use of many women. And when he was very old, an uprising took place in Cuzco which threw it into confusion.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ESTEEM IN WHICH WERE HELD SINCHI COZQUE PACHACUTI AND HIS SONS AND RELATIVES; AND OF THE OUTCOME OF THE WAR WHICH THE LORDS OF ANTAGUAILAS MADE AGAINST THEM.

Among the other sons of Sinchi Cozque was one called Inti Capac Yupanqui who, though of but few years, being the youngest of all, yet deserved to inherit the kingdom on account of his deeds, as we shall see. He had many brothers who, though valiant, were not like him in courage. Because his father enjoyed many

women, this family increased greatly in size, so that of the members of it an army might have been formed. The king Sinchi Cozque was very old and decrepit, but he was respected all through his kingdom and by many other Lords beyond his dominion, because they held him to be Son of the Sun and high priest of Illatici Yachachic Huira Cocha. Therefore, the Lords from very far off came to pay their respects to him with great offerings and presents for the building of the temple and for its service. And, although it was not completed, they made great sacrifices in it and they asked their destiny and fortunes by means of the high priest who was always present in the temple. And a brother or very near relative of the king administered this office, because of which the kings of Cuzco were very famous. Pachacuti lived very quietly and decided to marry his son Inti Capac to a lady called Mama Anahuarque[1] daughter of the Lord of Choco which is near Cuzco. This was effected after his death. It was Pachacuti, say the ancient amautas, who won the whole kingdom of Piru, except the province of Chachapoyas and part of the Llanos, as far as the province of Quito, which latter soon rebelled and after many centuries returned to form a part of this empire. The cause of the great increase in size at that time was the following event :—

Among other provinces which there are in these realms of Piru, there is one large and extensive one in the Chancas[2] [nation], called Antaguailas ; it is thirty-six leagues from Cuzco. It was ruled by two brave and warlike brothers, the elder called Guaman Huaroca, and the other Hacoz Huaroca.[3] These, with the pride of youth, and with certain good fortunes which gave

[1] *Ana Huaci*, in the original.—J.

[2] Charcas, in the original.—J.

[3] Huaman Huaraca and Hastu Huaraca, according to other historians.—J.

a beginning to their government, reduced some Lords who were their neighbours to obedience, and they determined to extend their dominion, and little by little they kept entering the lands of their neighbours. They heard rumours of the provinces of Contisuyo and Tucaysuyo; they went to them, reduced them, and passed on, laying waste the lands of those who did not yield them obedience; they humbled the province of Collasuyo, and went as far as the Chiriguanas, a province of rude, warlike and valiant people, and after some encounters they made them their vassals, and they left garrisons and governors among them, just as they had done in the rest of the provinces.

After so many victories, they turned about with the intention of making themselves lords of the world. And because Cuzco, where Sinchi Cozque was king, had been left behind them [in their march southward], they determined to capture that city and place the king Pachacuti in servitude. There arose several opinions between the two brothers and their captains as to the means for beginning this war, because some said that they had no right to anger the Sun, father of Pachacuti, since with his light, influence and splendour he favoured all creation, nor was it just to enter Cuzco and violate his temple with armed forces. But the contrary opinion prevailed, and they determined that if the king were not to be subjected by them, at least they would bring cruel war against him. For this purpose, they sent two ambassadors, accompanied by many troops, to inform Pachacuti of the intentions of the Lords of Antaguailas. They arrived in the presence of the king and made known their errand with due reverence. He replied that they might rest themselves for some days, and that they would then be sent home. The king sent spies all through the land in order that they might see what number of troops the enemy had, what formations and arms, what

Photo by Max Vargas, Arequipa.

THE FORTRESS OF SACSAHUAMAN
OVERLOOKING THE CITY OF CUZCO.

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sort of a camp, and with what sort of amusements they occupied themselves. All this time he treated the messengers with all consideration and courtesy, so much so that the vassals of the king and the people of Cuzco were so agitated that, had it not been for the good words and plans of their captains, they would have gone off to the mountains [in anger].

And this became especially true when [it became known what] some of the spies said. On account of this, it was decided that the latter should tell in secret what they had seen. The things that were learned for certain about the foe were very fearful. The spies said that the number of their troops was without limit, that their disposition was that of very ferocious men, and that the noise of their drums and trumpets made the earth tremble. They also reported that in some of the camps they were passing the time in drunken revelries, but that the captains of the army were keeping watch with great vigilance, although there were no sentinels outside the camp, and most of the army was continually sleeping and drinking.

The king Sinchi Cozque held many councils and meetings, and in them divers opinions were set forth. Finally, the king resolved to yield himself to the people of Antaguailas as much on account of the poor and few troops which he had gathered together as on account of finding himself now too old a man for the trials of war. [And he said that] if this decision did not suit them, the people might go with him to the fortress which he had built at Saxahuana, which is four leagues from Cuzco; and thereupon he gave orders suitable for the occasion. Some accepted the judgment of the king; others refused it, and the king, seeing everyone in confusion, determined to set forth from Cuzco and go to the said fortress with his wives and small children, until he should see what heaven wished of him and what means were adopted against

the people of Antaguailas. He carried out his plan that night, and with all secrecy, he set forth from the city, leaving it almost deserted.

The prince Inti Capac Yupanqui, oldest son of Sinchi Cozque, convoked his brothers and the rest of the people who had remained in Cuzco, and he told them that he had had a revelation from the Sun, his father, and that the latter had told him to attack his enemies without fear, using the few troops whom he had, for he [the Sun] would aid him, and would always show him favour. And for this purpose he gave the prince a spear and spear-thrower of gold, and showed him how to use them. Here the Peruvian poets tell a fable to the effect that these spears had so much virtue that each time one of them was shot it threw many men senseless upon the ground. The prince told all this with so much vehemence that he brought all to his opinion, and they promised to die at his side. He assembled all his warriors and before them made reply to the ambassadors in the name of his father and in these words: "That, being, as they were, Sons of the Sun, and ministers of Illatici, Huira Cocha, the sovereigns of Cuzco could be subject to no one, and [he said] that he was greatly astonished that, instead of having come humbly to reverence Illatici and the Sun, his own father, bringing them presents and offerings as a return for the many victories which they had vouchsafed, their Lords had come to disturb them and make war [upon their people]. Tell this to them who sent you here, and tell them that we are quiet and peaceful in our houses, and have no intention of serving or subjecting ourselves to anyone."

The ambassadors went back to their own camp with this reply. They gave it to their Lords who, without further ado, came marching toward Cuzco. The prince in Cuzco was already forwarned, and with his troops

he sallied forth to his camp, taking care always to keep himself informed as to what went on in that of the enemy, using spies whom he always had with him ; from whom the prince learned each hour and moment what was done in the camp of the foe. The latter, having learned of the absence of the king, and confiding in his superior numbers, did not take care to learn what went on in the other camp. The prince, availing himself of this [lack of] precaution, arranged with his captains that they should deliver an attack upon the enemy one or two hours before dawn, because then, as a result of the drunken revelry the night before, the enemy would be sleeping. This strategy gave [the prince] the victory, because, the enemy being a day's march from Cuzco, the prince with his men travelled speedily in the darkness of the night, guided by the sounds of the warlike instruments which were played in the camp of the enemy at the first and second watches of the night, and which reached the ends of the earth, until he arrived at the hostile camp at the appointed hour. And, finding it in silence, the prince entered it with his men, making great havoc among his enemies. Seeing themselves the victims of a surprise attack, the foe took up their arms, and, without knowing against whom they were fighting, they killed some of their opponents. The prince's men had orders to surround the huts of the Lords of Antaguailas and to take them alive. They did so in a running fight which took them nearly to the [brothers'] ranches, and they fought so valiantly that, having killed off nearly all the guard, they succeeded in capturing the brothers, who were as silent as if they were of stone. Prince Inti Capac Yupanqui commanded that their hands should be tied, and he told his men to proclaim what had happened to their fellows, so that they should cease killing. They did so, and as soon as all had stopped fighting and the battle was brought to an end,

the noise of the instruments was silenced, it was day-break. The conquered brothers were fearful of the threats which the prince had uttered against them, and when he saw them so frightened he told them to call together the chiefs of their camps, and when all had come, the prince made first the brothers and then the captain pay him homage before their whole army, which they did with all humility and respectful gratitude, without any other punishment. The prince showed toward these vanquished brothers a liberality which consisted in sending them back to their provinces after they had earnestly promised him vassalage, kneeling upon the ground before the Sun. And they went away, very happy at seeing themselves free from that grave peril never experienced by them before.

Here the amautas relate ancient traditions, many poesies and fables, saying that the Sun goes over the prince and his people, shining upon them with greater splendour than before, while, on the other hand, their enemies remain in the same darkness as the night. And they say that when the prince's men arrived at the huts of the brothers, they had battle with the first people whom they encountered, and that the Sun, in order to fulfil the promise which he had made to his son Inti Capac, converted the stones of the field into men and scattered his rays upon them so that the enemy might see the marvel, and thereupon the enemy surrendered. And after the battle, the men turned back into stone.

The prince returned to Cuzco where his ancient father Sinchi Cozque was awaiting his valorous son. He entered the city triumphant. They received him there with many songs and acclamations in which they felicitated him on his victory and on giving freedom to his country. His old father could not give him enough embraces, shedding many tears of joy. There and then, in the presence of the army, he acclaimed him king and

reverenced his power, giving him the command and lordship, which was done with the good will of the royal family and of all the vassals. And he was the fifth Peruvian king.[1]

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[1] The first point in this chapter is the apparent confusion which exists here between Sun-worship and Viracocha-worship. It is by no means possible to feel sure of one's ground here, but so far as one can tell at present the situation was this :—

In pre-Columbian days the Andean region was the seat of two great religious cycles (and of innumerable minor cults). Of these, that having to do with some Creator-God was by far the older. The nomenclature is most elaborate and confusing. In the Quito region (now Ecuador) the Creator-God was variously known as Irma, Con or Pachacamac, in later times at least. In the Huarochiri region of central Peru he was known as Coniraya Uira-cocha or as Iraya. In the Lima region, again, the names Irma and Pachacamac were used. In the Highlands around Lake Titicaca the names Illa-tecce-Viracocha and Tonapa were employed, and in what is now Argentina Tonapa or Tarapaca were the usual names. There were besides innumerable variations. We find more or less the same attributes attaching to all the Creator-Gods named.

On the other hand, the Incas were the distributors of the Sun-cult and its attendant astral cults.

ARRIAGA, PABLO JOSEPH DE. 1621. *Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Piru.* Lima.

LAFONE QUEVEDO, SAMUEL A. 1892. *El Culto de Tonapa.* Revista del Musee de la Plata. III. pp. 320—379. Buenos Aires.

QUIROGA, ADAN. 1901. *La Cruz en America.* Buenos Aires.

SPENCE, LEWIS. 19—. *Myths of Mexico and Peru.* New York. P. 321 *ff.*

The second interesting point is that there is here an indication that even so early as this the great plain of Xaquixaguana (now called Anta or Zurite) was a favourite battle-ground, which it has continued to be down to modern times.

Another interesting point here is the mention by our author of Mama Anahuarque of Choco, who, he says, was the wife of Inca, to whom he gives the name Inti Capac Yupanqui, who appears here to have been a son of a sovereign dubbed Pachacuti. As a matter of fact, this lady was the sister-wife of the great Inca Yupanqui, who reigned not long before the Conquest. Fernandez de Palencia states that she was the wife of Pachacutec, father of Inca Yupanqui, and Garcilasso de la Vega does likewise.

Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1907, pp. 107 and 123. Fernandez de Palencia, 1571, p. 126. Garcilasso de la Vega, 1869—71, II. p. 203. Cobo, 1890—95, III. p. 156.

All that Montesinos has to say here about the Chanca rebellion is, of course, in the greatest possible confusion.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE THINGS WHICH INTI CAPAC YUPANQUI ORDERED IN CUZCO WITH RESPECT TO RELIGION AND TO GOVERNMENT.

WITHIN a few days after giving up the kingdom to his son, Inti Capac, Sinchi Cozque died; as we have said, he was more than one hundred years old, having ruled seventy years. His son made for him a sumptuous interment, and offered up great sacrifices in the temple of the Sun, because it would prepare for him a good dwelling among the rest of his predecessors. The funeral rites having been terminated, he caused certain kinsmen of the Lords of Antaguailas to be called together; he had had them with him for a certain purpose during more than three years, treating them well, and letting them always see the works and operation of his great authority. So they were well content at the court of Inti Capac. Now, perceiving that the affairs of the provinces were enjoying peace, he commanded these men to go thence into their own provinces, charging them to remain faithful toward him and to hold in fear the Sun, his father, who had shown himself so favourable to him [Inti] and so much opposed to them.

The good treatment which the king gave these men, and the news of his victories, which were thus made known everywhere, caused almost all the Lords of Piru to send embassies and presents to Inti Capac, who received them all with much graciousness. And above all, the lord of Huáitara sent to inform him that he wished to adopt his religion and to build a temple to the Sun. And thereupon [this chief] sent workmen to take as a model the temple which had been built at Cuzco, as a result of which they returned well versed

in the way of stonecutting and in the manner of building a house. The king, who was a devout man in religious matters, did all that the lord of Huáitara besought him to do, giving to his men many implements as well as instructions for making them, so that they returned very happy indeed. Other lords sent their sons to the king, so that they might present him with rich presents of gold and silver and garments.

Finding himself in the enjoyment of complete peace, king Inti Capac determined to reform his dominions, for he found them very barbarous in the matter of laws and worship. So the first thing that he did was to order his people to acknowledge Illatici Huira Cocha as their supreme creator, and to recognise the Sun as the father of his own ancestors ; with all this, however, he did not prohibit the idols which they had for special purposes. But later on this matter [of idol-worship] became corrupt, because there were as many idols as there were events and persons, on account of the novelties introduced by the foreign people who kept entering Piru, as we shall see.

After this, Inti Capac concerned himself with the administration of the state, so that all of it should be governed by his laws. The first [law] which he granted was to divide the city of Cuzco, which was now very populous and full of fine buildings which had been begun in the time of his father, into two wards which he marked out. He commanded that the more important one be called *Hanan Cozco,* which means Upper Cuzco, and that the other be called *Urin Cozco,* or Lower Cuzco. He divided the first ward into five or six streets, and gave the command of it to the son who was to be his heir, and he called it *Capac Ayllo,* which means the most important district. He populated this ward with all ranks of people, and he gave names to the streets.

The second ward, called Urin Cozco, was likewise

divided into five or six streets, and he gave the government of it to his second son, and he settled divers peoples in it. The old Indians say that Inti Capac made this subdivision with special intentions, because, with division into wards and districts, wills would also be divided to some extent, so that, if some mutiny arose in the city, the bold men [who led it] could not easily form combinations, and so that, being thus divided into different wards and governments, better knowledge and information as to the condition of the people could be obtained. Moreover, when the king had need of them, whether for war or for some public work, or for anything besides, or for the payment of tribute, better cognition might be had and without confusion. And the chief cause of all was the fact that the rivalry and diversity of opinions, which this division brought about, caused the people of one part [of the city] to excel those of the other, and this rivalry made them renowned in their trades and occupations.

Inti Capac commanded that this division should be made in all the cities of his kingdom, and he gave express orders for it to his governors. And in like manner he commanded that the whole realm be divided into two parts, calling one half *Hanan Sayac* and the other *Urin Sayac*, which is to say, the people of the upper region and those of the lower. This is to be understood, not as relating to the material things of the kingdom, but as relating to the people, for some were more important than others. Thus, when the king called on the people of any province or commanded them to build any public work, those of Hanan Sayac had a position distinct from that held by those of Urin Sayac. So the king beheld his realm well governed, on account of his individual knowledge of his subjects, for which this king had especial care. And so, after having divided Piru as we have said, he commanded that each

Photo by Max Vargas, Arequipa.

A Street in Cuzco.

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portion be ruled by centurions, which they called *pachacas;* each of these contained one hundred men, and above the centurions were other officials who had charge of one thousand men, which is ten centuries, and who are called *huarangas;* above these, in turn, are others, still more important, called *hunos*, who commanded ten thousand men; these officials were always the Lords of the provinces. And above these *hunos* this king ordered that there should be an officer called *Toc-ricoc*, who was like a viceroy and was always a near relative or very intimate friend of the king. *Toc-ricoc* means supervisor, and he had to see and know all the events in his government, as much to remedy excesses as to see to it that all were kept in justice and peace. Unimportant matters were taken care of by the centurions; and if the matter were serious the *Toc-ricoc* was supposed to inform the king of it; and if the sentence were death or a grave penalty, the king gave it.

In the offices of centurion, huaranga and huno, the men had to be twenty-six years of age or more, and the higher officials had to be fifty. [The officials] kept the king informed, among other things, of how many old men and old women, youths and maidens, sick persons, maimed and crippled folk, there were in his realms in order that he might make adequate provision for their needs. He [the king] commanded the youths to marry when they arrived at twenty-six years of age, and he ordered the girls who were over fifteen to take husbands; and when they did not wish to, he ordered them to be placed in a house of correction, some for the service of the Sun, and others to wait upon them, which latter were later turned to profane uses, as we shall see. They were called *mamaconas* (I say *acllaconas*) or women for the service of the Sun. This king made a law which was kept inviolably, and even to-day it may still be seen. It was that the people of each province, as well

men as women, should go about with some token by which they were distinguished. This law was observed with so much rigour that if any man or woman went about without the said token, he was punished, because by its means the king knew on seeing them from what province they came. Some wore the hair braided; some wore it loose; others put in it certain hoops like sieves; others placed cloths upon it; others wore slings coiled in the hair; others had braids, and each province was known by its head-gear or dress.

In order to be known as gentlemen of the blood royal [some of the people] had their ears bored with needles and large studs of gold or silver inserted. On this account, the Spaniards called them "big-ears." Ladies were marked out by their clothes and footwear, and those of other provinces were not permitted to the women of Cuzco. They were called *pallas*.[1]

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE OTHER MATTERS WHICH THE KING INTI CAPAC ORDERED FOR THE GOOD GOVERNMENT OF HIS KINGDOM AND OF HIS DEATH.

INTI CAPAC, judging that it was necessary that the king should be as a heart in the midst of his realms, gave orders that the seat of the sovereigns should be at Cuzco, in order to be in the centre of the kingdom. For the sake of good intercommunication, he commanded that there should be post-runners along the roads, which

[1] The Huaitara mentioned in this chapter is a place in the province of Castrovirreina. There are remains of fine Incaic walls at the place, some of which are to be found incorporated with the church edifice of the parish. Practically all the rest of the material in this chapter should be understood to relate to Inca and not pre-Inca days.

we call *chasquis*. The arrangement was that, at each league, which is equal to two Spanish leagues, there should be two or three huts in which there were to be as many men, continually on a sharp lookout. These houses were placed close to the highway, and the men were relieved each month, because one of them kept watch and the other two ran with the messages, one in one direction and one in the other, and without stopping an instant they returned to their posts; and as this was hard work, for some days they ran twelve or fourteen leagues, they were relieved each month. In regard to the advices which the governors sent to the king or the king to the governors there have been as many different accounts as there have been sorts of royal business. When they had letters and figures or hieroglyphs they wrote on the leaves of the plantain-tree, as we have said, and one chasqui would give the folded leaf to the next until it arrived in the hands of the king or of the governor. After they lost the use of letters, the chasquis passed the verbal message from one to another, and they learned them very well, so that in this way the message came to him for whom it was intended. The chasqui, before arriving at the place where the next one waited, gave loud shouts, at the sound of which the next chasqui came out and received the message, and, without stopping, ran with all speed to where the next post was. And in this manner these messages went with so much quickness from hand to hand that in three days they went five hundred leagues.

Of this speed also the king availed himself when he craved some dainty which was not to be had in the province where he was. And thus, in later years, when the kings subjected Quito, and were wont to dwell there for long periods, they ate fish from the lake.[1] And

[1] Of Chucuito or Titicaca.—J.

fishes caught in the sea at the port of Tumbez were carried alive to the king at Quito, which is more than one hundred leagues away, in twenty-four hours. This courier-service was called *chasqui*, which is to say, " he who receives," because one man took and received the message from another.

This king also arranged that there should be masters who were to instruct the lads in warlike things and in the use of arms, with authority to choose from them those who were most skilful and dextrous, and those who were judged worthy were entrusted to other officers, as we shall see elsewhere.

This king also renewed the computation of time, which was falling into confusion, so that, in his time, ordinary years were counted as having three hundred and sixty-five days and hours (*sic*), and then there were decades, giving each decade ten years, counting also larger groups of years,[1] and calling one hundred thousand years *Capac-huata* or *Intip-huatan*, which is to say " the great year of the Sun."

In this way they counted centuries and reigns, by the great solar years ; and it is a common phrase among them, in speaking of some Peruvian king of the events which befell in his reign, to say : *iscay intipi allii canpim caycay carcca*,[2] which means " two suns having passed, such and such a thing took place." And through not understanding this language, the licenciado Polo de Ondegardo[3] said that the Incas did not anciently have more than four hundred and fifty of the ordinary years, although they really had a thousand of the great solar years which are the four thousand five hundred years that elapsed after the Deluge. But we do say that the

[1] I have made a very loose translation here on account of the obscurity of the text.—P. A. M.

[2] *Ysa ay intipiallis campin caycacaria*, in the original.—J.

[3] Author of various articles about Peruvian antiquities. He flourished in Peru in the middle of the 16th century.—J.

Photo by P. Ainsworth Means.

THE EASTERN FACE OF THE MONOLITHIC GATEWAY.

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Photo by courtesy of Mrs Lewis Emery, Jr.

THE WESTERN FACE OF THE MONOLITHIC GATEWAY.

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special government of the Incas themselves lasted only four hundred years in this land, which is the truth, as we shall see. Also, they had some knowledge of leap-year on account of the fact that their astrologers had observed the time at which the sun crossed the Line, which they marked out near Quito, where we ourselves say it goes, by means of some large walls that are to be seen to-day.

This king lived more than a hundred years, and during his life he ordered Manco Capac, second of this name, to rule, so that he might see his good habits and be satisfied of his valor and prudence; and after that he lived in great retirement and solitude near the temple of the Sun; there he died, leaving great grief throughout the kingdom. The people mourned him many days and placed his statue among his ancestors. And they obeyed Manco Capac.[1] Inti Capac was king for not more than fifty years.

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[1] The question of whether or not there was anything resembling hieroglyphics in pre-Incaic Peru is an important one, but one which has never been settled. Without at all accepting in a literal sense the theories of Posnansky and others, one may say that there are certain details in the artifacts of pre-Incaic Peru which seem to suggest that some system of mnemonics, if not of actual hieroglyphics, formerly prevailed. On the great gateway at Tiahuanaco, on the vases from various coast sites, in various rock-carvings here and there, and especially on the famous golden breastplate and *topu* described by Markham (1910, p. 119), the former of which now belongs to the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City, one sees many conventional and stylistic figures and marks which may have had the function of writing. More than this, the cautious student hesitates to say at present. In this connection consult:—

MARKHAM, 1910, p. 119; VAZQUES, 1918, p. 71.

POSNANSKY, ARTHUR. 1913. *El Signo Escalonado.* Berlin. 1914. *Una Metropoli Prehistorica en la America del Sud.* Berlin.

On the other hand, one cannot be too wary lest he be trapped into dangerous assumptions in this connection. Such an assumption is that made by Dr. Hiram Bingham, who suggests that some rock-scratchings which he found in the Department of Cuzco are perhaps the record of "an Indian raid from the jungles of the Amazon into the heart of the land of the Incas." This very stimulating hint is, however, somewhat vitiated by the fact that the only intelligible and coherent part of the rock-scratching in question contains crude images of two churches, one of them surmounted by a cross.

BINGHAM, HIRAM. 1913. *In the Wonderland of Peru.* National Geographic Magazine for April, 1913. P. 566.

The rest of the chapter really relates to Inca times.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING THE SIGNS WHICH APPEARED IN THE SKY IN THE TIME OF MANCO CAPAC, SECOND OF THAT NAME.

After Manco Capac ceased to mourn for his father during many days he gave orders that the provinces of his kingdom should have highways to and from Cuzco, traversing the difficult passes, and commanding bridges to be built over the rivers. After the *tambos* or inns had been built every three or four leagues, they were provided with keepers and with whatever was necessary from the nearest provinces in whose charge their upkeep was put. There was not at that time so much safety and order as there was later in the time of other kings, as we shall see.

He also ordered that the ministers of Illatici Phirua Yachachic Huira Cocha should live in great retirement and chastity, so much so that if any of them broke it in any way they were to be buried alive. He placed over them a high priest, his brother or a very near relative, whose duty it was to preside over the solemn sacrifices. He likewise ordered that there should be houses of retreat for the women who were to serve in the temple and who were called Mothers of the Sun. These women were very much respected, and any man who looked at them or touched them was punished by great torments.

Manco Capac Yupanqui ruled in peace during his reign, although his captains carried on some wars against the people of Tucuman who had entered the province of Chichas. At the end of some years two fearsome comets appeared which were in the form of a lion and of a serpent. He commanded the astrologers and amautas to assemble, on account of the fact that two very notable eclipses of the sun and moon had taken place. They consulted the idols and the Devil gave them to understand that Illatici

wished to destroy the world for its sins, and that he was sending a lion and a serpent to destroy the moon. And then every one, women and children, gathered together, and gave great shouts and wept aloud with very pitiful sighs even drowning the noise of the dogs ; because they said that the tears and sighs of the innocent greatly affect the Supreme Creator. The warriors made ready for war, playing upon trumpets and drums, and throwing many arrows and stones toward the moon, making believe to wound the lion and the serpent, because they said that in this manner they would frighten them away, so that the moon should not be torn to pieces. They understood that if the lion and the serpent could accomplish their purpose, they themselves would remain in darkness, and that all the instruments of man and of woman would be converted into lions and reptiles, and that the spindles of the women would be turned into serpents, and their looms would be turned into bears and tigers, and other ferocious animals. And this is the reason why to-day the Peruvians give shouts when there is any eclipse. After having sacrificed many youths and maidens, and men and women, made of gold and silver, one-third of the size of life, they consumed them all in the fire except the youths, for they say that the eclipse of the sun indicated the death of a great Lord ; and they pretend that the sun was just in mourning because of it. For this reason they interred the boys alive, in order that they might go to the Creator of all in order to exchange their deaths for that of the prince who had died.

A little while after these marvellous things, a plague happened in Peru which was so great that the ancients say that many provinces were depopulated by the deaths of many Lords and common people. This brought about a drought which was so severe that it lasted five years, and the rivers which water the Plains from Tumbez to Arica dried up, with the result that almost the whole

land was depopulated, leaving some few inhabitants near the shore, who sustained themselves only by hard toil.

On this occasion Manco Capac already a decrepit old man, died, having reigned twenty years. Tupac Capac succeeded him, and Tupac Capac, the first of this name, was followed by his son, Tini Capac Yupanqui ; the latter lived with much toil, withdrawn during some years in the Andes, and when he heard that conditions had become better, he set forth to Cuzco where he found but few people, and the same is true in the other provinces. At this point the amautas tell great fables about the conquest of Cuzco, and of the persons and families who have absented themselves from it, and how they all returned and lived in great confusion, and how they had returned to their pristine condition. Leaving these fables on one side, we turn to what is more important, namely that among the many sons whom Tini Capac had, one was Titu Capac Yupanqui. He was a lad of great valor, and taking possession of the kingdom he inflicted many punishments in the city of Cuzco on those who opposed the ancient government ; and as a result of this the city was brought into submission to him. And then he went through the provinces, and without giving warning he attacked them, and suddenly took away from them both their heads and their lives, so that it was easy to reduce them to his will. Being now very old, he gave the government to Inti Capac Pirua Amaru.

It happened after that that this Amaru was the friend of lost people, and they besought his father to relieve him of the government. and although with a feeling of regret, his father did so. The injured boy set out from Cuzco with some friends who followed him, and he became so wise and skillful in warfare that, following in the footsteps of his father, he finally pacified the Collao and part of the Charcas ; and, returning to Cuzco, his father and the whole city were overjoyed at his coming,

especially at the sight of the new conquests which he brought. He was greatly beloved by all, and the amautas say that he lived more than eighty years with the greatest happiness.

This prince left his son Capac Sayhua Capac as heir, whose life was very peaceful; and he reigned more than seventy years, and died aged more than ninety. He left as his heir Capac Tinia [1] Yupanqui, of whom the amautas relate nothing noteworthy, save that he was very observant of the rites and grateful to his gods, building many guacas to Illatici and to the Sun, his father, and to his ancestors. He died when decrepit with age, leaving many sons, and having lived more than ninety years, and having reigned forty. He left as his heir Ayar Tacco.[2]

CHAPTER IX.

OF WHAT OCCURRED IN THE TIME OF THIS KING IN CUZCO, AND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE GIANTS IN PIRU.

WHILE Ayar Tacco Capac was reigning in Cuzco in profound peace, the seers and wizards told him how, wishing to placate the wrath of Illatici, they had found a very evil prognostication in the entrails of the ewes and sheep [3] which they had sacrificed. This greatly disturbed the king, and, at the end of several days, news was brought that a great throng of strange people had disembarked upon the Coasts from balsas and canoes which formed a great fleet, and that they were settling in the land,

[1] *Capesinia*, according to the original.—J.

[2] The name of this king is found written in the original in several ways: *Ayar Taco, Ayatarco Cupc, Arartarco* and *Arartarcotitu*. The most reasonable reading and that most conformable to the Quichua language is in my opinion *Ayar Tacco* or *Taccu, Capac*, and *Ayar Taccu Titu*. This *Titu* appears to me to be more of a mistake than anything else.—J.

[3] *I.e., Llamas*, of course.—M.

especially along the water-courses, and that some men of great stature had gone in advance of the rest. And the amautas affirm that the tribes and nations which came at this time were without number.[1] As soon as the king learned of their coming, he sent scouts to find out who these people were, what offensive and defensive arms they carried, and what was their manner of living. The spies returned, and said that wherever the giants arrived, if there were people there, the people of the land were despoiled and subjected; and [they said] that the giants were settling on the whole Coast, and that some of them

[1] Here Montesinos tells us that he has his information from the amautas or historians of the people. Since this is the case, we may assume that the events which he here records are perfectly genuine folklore, and of this their very nature affords us ample evidence.

The "giants" here referred to are doubtless merely the coast-dwellers, or perhaps some new wave of migrants from the North, whose great strength and valour in their wars with the highlanders won for them a terrific reputation for size and ferocity.

Bandelier, Adolph F. 1905. *Traditions of Pre-Columbian Landings on the Western Coast of South America.* American Anthropologist (N.S.) VII. p. 250—270.

Cieza de Leon, Pedro de. 1864. *Travels.* Translated and edited by Sir Clements R. Markham, Hakluyt Society. London. P. 189.

On the whole, this is one of the most important passages in the book, for here, based on the folklore of the amautas, we have a real tradition of the early coast-people and their movement inland (to Huaitara, etc.), a movement which probably resulted in the creation of the Tiahuanaco civilisation out of elements brought from the Pacific littoral in combination with others already present in the highlands. This movement, if my dating is at all valuable, took place about A.D. 300, finding its full results after about two centuries. It was the first of a series of similar shifts. (See Means, 1917B, 1918 and 1918B.) The fact that the beginning of the temple at Pachacamac is definitely assigned to these people is of especial value, for it is quite clear from Uhle's investigations that that site had a long occupation in pre-Incaic times, and, consequently, the date *ca.* A.D. 300 is not too ancient for its foundation. It was added to from time to time for centuries. It is also noteworthy that this important temple is identified with the ancient, pre-Incaic Creator-God, Pachacamac, already referred to.

Uhle, Max. 1903. *Pachacamac.* Philadelphia.

Squier, E. George. 1877. *Peru.* New York. Pp. 62—81.

Additional support is given to this passage by the fact that some of the pottery from the coast reveals the presence there of the immoral practices here referred to by Montesinos.

The Lima Tambo here mentioned was anciently Rimac Tampu. It is a strategically important fortress not far from Cuzco. What our author says about the growing strength of the Chimu folk is of particular interest, for it bears out perfectly what we may learn from archæology.

had gone up into the mountains, and that their government was all in confusion.

When this was learned by Ayar Tacco Capac, he made ready his captains and warriors for whatever might take place; but it was not necessary to do this, for the foreigners remained on the Coasts, it appearing to them impossible that there should be people beyond such lofty and jagged mountains, and so only a few of them passed upward and populated Huáitara and Quínoa, completing some buildings which they found begun with the instruments of iron which they had brought from their own land.

Those who remained in Pachacama built a very sumptuous temple to the Creator of all things, as a thank-offering. At this point the amautas, juggling with fate, pretend that the god Pachacama, which is to say "Creator," created these numberless tribes in the sea and brought them to these regions, and for this they call Pachacama Creator.

Likewise, the spies told how very large and tall men had arrived at the cape which to-day we call Santa Elena, and that they were ruling that land from Puerto Viejo, and that the natives of it were fleeing from them because they used their bodies so ill. And, in my opinion, it was not that they fled from the sin, for they themselves had it also, but that they fled from the danger of the instrument with which the giants took their lives. But so great were the excesses of these giants that the Divine justice took upon itself their punishment, and it punished them in an instant, sending fire from heaven which suddenly consumed them. The amautas pretend here that their father the Sun, with very fiery rays, burned them up, because otherwise they would cause the end of the world. A memory of this event is found in the bones which God reserved as a warning to posterity. A bone from the lower part of the leg is to be seen; it has the height of a man. Also, there are to be seen on the same

cape of Santa Elena some wells which they made in the living rock, whence very fresh and good water is to be got, a work of great marvellousness.

The king, Ayar Tacco, distrusting this people who kept settling in some places in the mountains, as at Caxamarca and Huáitara, and throughout the Coasts, set forth from Cuzco with a large army with the intention of reducing and punishing them. He arrived in Andaguailas, and there he learned that the enemy were numerous, ugly and big. He changed his plan, and contented himself with placing garrisons in Vilcas and Lima Tambo, giving definite orders to the captains that they were not to let these strange people get to Cuzco. But, confiding little in the diligence of others, and keeping vigilant watch upon the enemy, he wished to be present himself at Lima Tambo, in wait for them, for he knew that they were holding conferences and building forts upon the Coasts against him. He arranged his men in this way : In the foothills he placed many soldiers who, with boulders and large stones, would hold the pass against the enemy, forcing them to go by the road which leads by Lima Tambo and is narrow, and there the king placed the main force of his warriors.

Being thus occupied, and being tired and weary with the many new perplexities which each day brought to him, he died, having reigned twenty-five years. He left as his heir Huascar Titu, the first of this name, and the twelfth Peruvian king, who bore the body of his Ayar Tacco Titu, to Cuzco, to the houses of the Sun, as he had commanded him to do, and after the obsequies he [Huascar] returned to Lima Tambo to complete the fortifications which his father had begun against the Chimos,[1] for thus were the very warlike foreign people of Trujillo called, after the name of their king and captain, the Chimo.

[1] *I.e.* the Chimu.—M.

Every day intensified the news that the Chimos were increasing and improving their fortresses and arms every instant, being mindful, when they were strong within their own houses, to go and conquer Cuzco. Huascar Titu lived all his life in the resolve to resist them, until death took him after he had lived seventy-four years and reigned thirty. This king had many sons, and he left as his heir Quispi Titu, and he was the thirteenth Peruvian king. This man was greatly beloved by his vassals, and nothing else noteworthy is said of him save that he died at thirty years of age, having reigned . . .[1] years. He left as his heir Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti, who was the fourteenth of the Peruvian kings.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE KING TITU YUPANQUI PACHACUTI AND OF THE REFORMS WHICH HE MADE IN HIS KINGDOM.

At the third year of reign of this king, and the sixth after the beginning of the third sun, which, according to the computations of our historians, corresponds to the second age of the world, the people of this kingdom lived in forgetfulness of good customs and given up to all kinds of vice. For this reason, say the old amautas (and they learn it from their ancestors, and from the reading of their quipus), the Sun wearied of journeying and hid himself from men [taking away] his light in order to punish them, so that there was no dawn for more than twenty hours. The Indians gave great shouts, crying out to their father the Sun; and they made great sacrifices in order to placate him, offering many lambs, girls and boys, and when the light of the Sun came forth

[1] Blank in the original.—J.

at the end of the said hours, they gave many thanks for the benefits which they had received. And the king determined to reform his kingdom; and the first thing which he did was to reform the soldiery, because the soldiers were going about in a mutinous state on account of the fact that the kings, because of peaceful times, had forgotten the granaries and storehouses from which was got their sustenance, and so neither the food nor the clothes to which they were accustomed were given them, which was two [issues of supplies] per year to each man. The king caused the storehouses to be repaired, and he revived the forced distribution of clothes, so that there was plenty of everything, and he pleased the soldiers because the Chimos of Trujillo were so elated that they were making ready to wage war on the king, Titu Yupanqui.

After the soldiery had profited by this good treatment, and after the feasts which were held during many days had been brought to a close, he was singularly prudent about punishing the mutineers without either uprisings or disturbances. His method was this: He placed spies in all the districts while the families were at their banquets and drinking-bouts, at a time when they say whatever is in their hearts, for, when free from drunkenness, they keep silence. The culprits being thus found out, they were taken before ten judges of the royal caste, and they put questions to them under a threat of torment, examining them according to the words which they had spoken, and, having made fast the guilty and their accomplices, the judges gave them to drink from an enchanted vessel; and so they did justice upon them.[1]

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[1] The amenuensis of Montesinos then put down *Mira esto del vaso en los discursos antecedentes y pónlo al márgen.* (Look up this matter of the vase in the foregoing discourses, and put it in the margin.) This indicates that the author did not put the finishing touches to his work. The *discursos* refer to those in the manuscript cited in the first chapter of these *Memorias.*—J.

From that time the Indians took care not to get drunk before any person in whom they do not feel confidence,[1] advising their women and near relatives when anything of that sort happens to carry off the person to sleep where no one shall see him. And the women never used to get drunk ; and in the time of the Ingas none of these women was ever seen to get drunk, for fear of her husband. The king, seeing these precautions, established a law that there should be held no gathering of the people, either for banquets, or for anything else, without the permission and presence of his viceroys and governors. But it was permitted to them to hold certain gatherings, as for tilling the land, which they called *mingas*, for the crops, or for building houses, or when they made and celebrated some marriage. In the other public and mortuary feasts, permission was not necessary, because they held them in the open fields ; but the people always lived in apprehension from the spies.

This king was determined to make war against the Chimos ;[2] for this purpose he sent to the Lord of Vilcas to ask permission for the passing of his troops. The Lord of Vilcas replied that he could not grant it because he did not wish to fall foul of those men who were so strong. So the king determined to make war upon the Lord of Vilcas, which he delayed for some days, during which he died, burdened with years, having reigned . . .[3] He left many sons, and, as his heir, Titu Capac, who was the fifteenth Peruvian king, and he reigned twenty-five years and died without doing anything worthy of memory. Paullu Ticac[4] Pirua, who was the sixteenth Peruvian king, succeeded him, and he lived in much peace and quiet during thirty years. Nothing of

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[1] *Descendencia*, in the original.—J.
[2] *Chimbos*, in the original.—J.
[3] A blank in the original.—J.
[4] *Hicara*, in the original.—J.

importance is said about him, beyond the fact that his death was greatly mourned by his vassals. He left as his heir Lloque Tesag Amauta.[1] It is said that he was very wise, and that he reigned fifty years and died decrepit with age. He left as his heir Cayo Manco Amauta, who lived more than ninety years and died without doing anything noteworthy. Huascar Titu Tupac, second of this name, succeeded him in the kingdom.

This king was very learned. He once again created governors for all the provinces, choosing them from among his relatives of the blood royal. He commanded that the most robust young men of thirty years be sifted out in order that they might be instructed in warlike affairs by his captains, and [he ordered] the latter to make a report to him of this matter every month. And the drill was with bow and arrows, spears, spear-throwers, lances thirty palms long and hardened bludgeons, all of these things being made with copper, and some of them with black palm-wood like a broadsword so smooth and sharp that they cut as if they were of steel.

He also invented defensive arms, which were certain cloaks of fine cotton, wound about the body in many turns, and having above the breast and shoulders great plates; the Lords wore gold ones, the people of their blood and their captains wore silver ones, and others wore copper ones. They used at this time little round shields of palm and cotton, and with these arms raw soldiers and long-ago captains were instructed. He commanded that many privileges be kept for the soldiers, especially those who had distinguished themselves in some battle, and the king conferred his favours upon them with his own hands, giving the rewards of clothes and arms. Also the Lords carried out their own military exercises; and the people of Hanan Cozco were wont to skirmish with

[1] *Lloquete Sagamauta*, in the text. I do not know for certain the name which should be put instead of *Tesag*; perhaps *Tucac* or *Ticac*.—J.

those of Urin Cozco, and sometimes matters went so far between the two wards that blood was spilt. And as the whole kingdom was divided into these two sections, wherever there were bands of soldiers, there was rivalry between the valiants of both parties.

He founded also a council of twenty of his relatives, old and prudent men, full of experience in the government of the kingdom. And having done these and other remarkable things, he died in the twenty-third year of his reign, having lived more than seventy-five years. He left as his heir his eldest son, Manco Capac Amauta, fourth of this name. He was very learned, and a great astrologer, because of which they called him Amauta. He caused to assemble all the men learned in this science, and, conferring with them, he said that the sun and the moon were in positions. He ordered that the common year should begin with the [end of] summer, which, in our reckoning, is the vernal equinox, which is on the thirty-first of March. This king discovered with the other astrologers, noting the influence of the stars, that there were to be great events in this Peruvian kingdom, and so they kept instructing their sons and descendants. They warned them always to live circumspectly, invoking Illatici Yachachic Huira Cocha, who is the Supreme Creator of all things, taking the Sun and the Moon, their progenitors as intercessors, and always offering them sacrifices. This king reigned fifty years and governed peacefully. He had many sons. He died more than eighty years old, and left as his heir his first-born son Ticac Tupac,[1] twenty-first Peruvian king. Nothing more is said of him than that he reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by Paullo Toto Capac, who reigned nineteen years and was the twenty-second of the Peruvian kings.

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[1] *Ticatua*, in the text.—J.

CHAPTER XI.

OF OTHER PERUVIAN KINGS, AND OF SOME EVENTS IN THEIR REIGNS.

Paullo Toto Capac left as his heir Cayo Manco[1] Amauta, second of this name. In the time of this king there were great disturbances in the kingdom on account of the news that very ferocious and warlike people had marched through Tucuman, the Chiriguaynas (*sic*) and Chile. Cayo Manco made himself ready, and in the act of preparing [for the attack], he died, having reigned thirty years. He was the twenty-third Peruvian king.

Among the many sons whom Cayo Manco had, he chose Marasco Pachacuti as his successor in the kingdom, and he was the third of this name and the twenty-fourth Peruvian king. In the time of this king it is said that the tribes which came again [into the kingdom] caused by force the establishment of great idolatries throughout the land. The king wished to make war upon them with a copious army, but this plan was spoiled by the people of the Coasts, with whom he had many encounters, and he never could gain from the Chimos one palm of land, although he did curb them somewhat. The most important thing he did was to re-enforce the garrisons which he had between the two cordilleras, which lie along the border of the Coastlands as far as the Rimac river where the city of Lima now is, and back into the mountains as far as Huánuco. His troops had a very bloody battle in the Collao with the barbarians, of whom many were killed and captured. He had other fortunate adventures so that he returned victorious and triumphant to Cuzco where great sacrifices were held in the house of the Sun.

[1] *Cao Manco* in the text.—J.

So great was the corruption which the barbarians who entered the land practised in their idolatries that the ancient rites were almost forgotten by the Peruvians. Marasco Pachacuti called a general council to discuss the reformation [of the religion], and, having made some decrees, he lived eighty years. Of these he reigned forty or more, and he died at a good old age, and many sons remained after him. He left as his heir Paullo Atauchi Capac, who was the twenty-fifth Peruvian king, and who held burial services for his father during forty days. He was much beloved and esteemed by his vassals, and because of the happy events of his reign, they called him Pachacuti, and he was the third of this name. Nothing more of note is said of Paullo save that his reign was peaceful. He had many sons and died at the age of seventy years. He left as his heir, having reigned . . . .[1] Lluqui Yupanqui. He was very discreet. He lived thirty years, being the twenty-sixth Peruvian king, and reigned fourteen of them. He left as his heir Lluqui Ticac, twenty-seventh Peruvian king. He reigned only eight years, dying at the age of thirty. He left as his heir Capac Yupanqui, twenty-eighth Peruvian king. It is said that this king was very righteous and just, and that he greatly limited the power of the people of the Coasts. He died more than eighty years old, having reigned fifty of them. He left many sons, and, as his heir, his first-born, Tupac Yupanqui, first of this name and twenty-ninth Peruvian king. It is said of him that he only reigned eighteen years, and that he died very old; his son, Manco Auqui Tupac Pachacuti succeeded him as his heir. It is said of him that he had many wars and that, although he was an idolater, he gave very good laws. He reigned fifty years. He revoked what Capac Amauta had ordained about the counting of the year, and he commanded that the winter solstice, which falls on the

[1] Blank in the text.—J.

twenty-sixth of September, should be the beginning of the year, and that it should be counted from the twenty-fifth of that month. They called this king Pachacuti on account of the good laws which he gave, and on account of his changing the calendar. He was the fourth of this name. He reigned fifty years, dying decrepit. He left as his heir Sinchi Apusqui, his son, a very valiant and very prudent man . . .[1]

This king, seeing how greatly the number of gods had increased, and perceiving that they adored equally the sole god of their ancestors and the modern gods brought in by different peoples, and as it seemed to him that this equality was harmful to the ancient god, he called a great meeting and afterwards he ordered that the great Pirua god should be invoked by this name: Illatici Huira Cocha, because at this time the Pirua name was corrupted and they said Huira Cocha, so henceforth we shall say Illatici Huira Cocha, which means *the glory and void and foundation wherein and whereon are all things*, because *illa* signifies glory, and *tici* foundation. *Huira*, anciently, before it was corrupted, was *pirua*, which is the storehouse of all things, and *cocha* is abyss and profundity. Besides this, these names have great emphasis in their significations.

Because this king made this distinction between the supreme god and the rest and changed the ancient name, they called him Huarma Vira Cocha, which means the boy Huira Cocha. He was very wise and made great laws against thieves, adulterers, incendiaries and liars, and he commanded that they be carried out with so much rigor that in his time there was no one who lied, who stole, or who was an adulterer. And it was so much so that, although a lie might save someone's life, yet would no one dare to say it. And it would be a good thing if this strictness lasted to this day. This king died more than

[1] The rest of this passage does not make sense.—M.

eighty years old, having reigned forty. And the amautas say that in his time two thousand and seventy years after the Deluge were completed. He left many sons, and as his heir, Auqui Quitu Atauchi, who died aged twenty-nine, having reigned only four years. Ayay Manco, first of this name, succeeded him. This king called a general assembly of all the learned amautas in Cuzco for the reformation of the years, which at that time were almost lost count of, in order that, according to the influences and positions of the stars in their courses, the computation of time might be arranged. After the meeting had lasted many days, it was decided that they would not count the year by moons, as up to that time, but that each month should have thirty fixed days, and that the weeks should have ten days, and that the five days left over should be half a week, and that the leap-years should be set in order, which they call *allcacanquis*. And the Indians call the month of this week the small month. And he ordained likewise that as there should be weeks of ten days, so there should be groups of ten common years, and then groups of ten decades and then ten of these, which was a sun; and half of a sun, five hundred years, he commanded should be called a *pachacuti* for the reason that has been told. The Indians kept this count of the years always until the coming of the Spaniards.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTINUES THE SUCCESSION OF THE PERUVIAN KINGS.

After Ayay Manco[1] had governed his realms in great felicity and quietude, he came to the end of his days after sixty years of life. He left as his heir Huira Cocha

[1] In the text it says, mistakenly, *Auqui Quitu Atauchi*, which was the name of his father.—J.

Capac, second of this name and thirty-fourth Peruvian king. This king died after having reigned fifteen years. He left as his heir Chinchi Roca Amauta ; he was very learned and he reigned twenty years. Tupac Amaru Amauta, first of this name, succeeded him. This king lived in continual melancholy, without anyone having seen him laugh in all the twenty-five years of his reign. Capac Raymi Amauta, thirty-seventh Peruvian king, succeeded him.

This king called a great assembly of his wise men and astrologers, and, with the king himself (who was deeply learned), they all studied the solstices with care. There was a sort of shadow-clock by which they knew which days were long and which were short, and when the sun went to and returned from the tropics. They showed me four very ancient walls upon a hill, and a creole, a great talker but a truthful man, assured me that this edifice served the ancient Indians as a clock. As this prince was so learned in the movements of the stars, they called the month of December, in which he was born, *Capac Raymi* after his own name. Then they called the month of June *Citoc Raymi* or, as we should say, greater and lesser solstice.[1]

In imitation of the king Huarma Huira Cocha, first of this name, all the nations named their gods and idols Huira Cocha, and some important Lords, with considerable boldness, even named their sons with this name. For this reason [the king Capac Raymi Amauta] commanded that only the great and ancient god whom his ancestors had been wont to adore should henceforth be named Illatici Huira Cocha, and this was done until the Holy Gospel entered [the land]. He likewise ordered that no one should name his son Huira Cocha, and this command was also observed for some time, but later it was

[1] Two wild, and, in our opinion, inexact guesses which we will leave upon the authority of Montesinos. The *citoc* is the *cituc* or *acitua* of other writers and means brilliant or resplendent.—J.

Photo by Max Vargas, Arequipa.

A Typical Shadow-Clock or Intihuatana.
Pisac, near Cuzco.

Reproduced and issued for the Hakluyt Society by David Macbeth, 1920.

disobeyed. He permitted the labourers to count the year by moons, and he armed the nobles and gave them tokens to distinguish them from the common people.

He died, to the great grief of his vassals, having lived many years, the number of which is not known. He left as his heir Illa Tupac, who died at thirty years of age, and ruled only three. He left as his heir Tupac Amauta,[1] second of this name, and he died in the fourth year of his reign. Toca Corca Apu Capac, who was the fortieth Peruvian king, succeeded him. This king was very wise and a great astrologer. He found the equinoxes, which the Indians call *illaris*,[2] and, for this reason, they call the month of May *Quilla Toca Corca* or, as we should say, vernal equinox. And they call September *Camay Tupac Corca*, which is the autumnal equinox. Thus he divided the ordinary year into four parts and seasons, in conformity with the four points of the solstices and equinoxes.

He founded in Cuzco a University, which was celebrated among them because of their small learning. And, in his time, according to what the Indians say, there were letters and characters upon parchment and on the leaves of trees, until all this was lost for a period of four hundred years, as we shall soon see. He reigned forty-five years, greatly to the satisfaction of all, and they mourned his death and wept for him during thirty days. His son Huampar Sairi Tupac succeeded him; nothing memorable is said of him; he reigned thirty-two years, and left as his successor and heir Hinac Huilla Amauta Pachacuti, who was the forty-second Peruvian king.

In the fifth year of the reign of this king Hinac, two thousand five hundred years since the Deluge were completed, and, for this reason, they called this king Pachacuti. He reigned thirty-five years, and he died,

[1] Perhaps *Amaru*.—J.

[2] From *illarini*, to shine (?). In the text, *iglales*.—J.

leaving as his heir and successor Capac Yupanqui Amauta. He reigned thirty-five years [also], and left as his heir Huampar Sairi Tupac, of whom nothing is said. He left as his heir Cayo Manco Auqui, second of this name, who reigned thirteen years, and he died very old. He left as his heir Hinac Huilla, first of this name,[1] who reigned thirty years and left as his heir Inti Capac Amauta, who reigned more than thirty years, and left as his heir Ayar Manco Capac, second of this name

In the time of this king there were great disturbances in the Andes, where he was like an arbitrator, and with his great prudence he not only made friends [of his enemies] but reduced them to a state tributary to his dominion. Yahuar Huquiz, first of this name, succeeded him. He reigned thirty years to the complete satisfaction of his vassals. He was a great astrologer, and he studied to find out how the intercalary days should be counted every four years. He commanded that, for the sake of accurately counting the time in the future, a year should be intercalated every four hundred years, and that the leap-years should be done away with, because, according to the amautas and astrologers with whom he held great meetings, the king averred that thus the count of the years would be made accurate. And the old men, in memory of this king and event called the leap year *huquiz*, which was called *allca allia*[2] before. And also in the memory of this king, they called the month of May *Yahuar Huquiz*. The king died very old, and left as his successor and heir Capac Titu Yupanqui, fiftieth Peruvian king.

In the time of this king there was a great plague of small-pox in Cuzco and throughout the kingdom, and he died of it, having reigned twenty-three years, and being more than one hundred years old. Tupac Curi

[1] A little further back, however, he mentions *Hinac Huilla Amauta Pachacuti*.—J.

[2] He calls it *allcacanquis* at the end of Chapter XI.

Photo by L. D. Gismondi, La Paz.

THE MONOLITHIC STAIRWAY.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth, 1920.

Amauta, second of this name, succeeded him. This prince gave orders that the equinoxes and solstices should be celebrated with great feasts and rejoicings, representing in them the course of the sun. He reigned thirty-nine years, living to be more than eighty. I do not know that they relate anything else of this king.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCERNING THE EVENTS AND SUCCESSION OF SOME OF THE KINGS OF PIRU.

TUPAC CURI left Tupac Curi Amauta, his son, as his heir.[1] He was exceedingly sagacious; he governed forty years. He left many sons, and, as his heir, Huillcanota Amauta. In the time of this king there came many hordes of people from Tucuman, and his governors retired toward Cuzco.[2] He assembled his forces and

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[1] Does not Montesinos wish to say *Tupac Curi Amauta left as his heir Tupac Curi his son?*—J.

[2] In Chapters X.—XIII., inclusive, we have what is presumably the history of the Tiahuanaco empire.

In order to combine what Montesinos tells us with known archæological facts, it will be well to say something about the site known now as Tiahuanaco, though anciently it bore the Colla name of Taypicala.

In the neighbourhood of Tiahuanaco, then, one finds many vestiges of ancient buildings of several sorts, as well as a large number of stone carvings, pottery fragments and so on. The large artificial mound called Acapana is probably the oldest structure at the site. To the north of it is the huge square enclosure formerly surrounded by stone walls (of which only the largest stones—large upright pillars at regular intervals—now remain). This is known as the Calasasaya. The famous monolithic gateway is in the north-western corner of it, and the equally famous, though mis-named "monolithic" stairway is in the centre of the eastern end. (*See* the admirable plan of the site in Posnansky, 1914.) The Calasasaya group undoubtedly represents the height of the empire. The stone cutting to be seen there is superb in detail, execution and finish. The same may be said of the group of ruins known as Puma-puncu, about a mile south-westwardly from the Calasasaya.

Many writers have assumed that, because it is now in a much despoiled condition, Tiahuanaco was never finished. A recent writer, however,

prepared a great army. He sent spies to find out what manner of men the enemy were. He learned that they were coming in two armies. He halted with his warriors on a high pass full of snow which is twenty leagues [south of] Cuzco, and which is called Huillcanota. There, fortified, he awaited the enemy. He gave battle to the first army, which he conquered easily on account of it being in disorder. The second army, hearing the news, came very confusedly to aid their fellows, and it also was conquered. The king entered Cuzco triumphant, bearing before him the vanquished, naked and with their hands tied. From this event the ancients call this king Huillcanota.

Also at this time there came through the Andes a large number of tribes who surrendered forthwith on condition that they be given lands for sowing, and they said that they did not come to bring war, but that they were fleeing from some men very large of body who had taken away their lands from them, because of which they had come seeking some place where they might live. They

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is of the opinion that it was finished, but that it has been the victim of spoliation and vandalism for centuries.

COURTY, G. 1909. *Les Nouveaux Aspects de la Prehistoire Americaine. L'homme prehistorique*, VII. pp. 65—72. Paris.

I have myself seen enormous numbers of stones in the modern buildings of new Tiahuanaco and of La Paz, all of them, so Sr. Don Manuel Vicente Ballivian stated, unscrupulously stolen from the ancient ruins. Archæology in this district around the southern end of Lake Titicaca has only just begun to contribute its quota to our knowledge. Sites like Llojepaya and Viacha are still waiting to be studied.

In the art of Tiahuanaco, as represented in the various collections which I have studied, those of Don Federico Diez de Medina and Don Agustin de Rada being the chief ones, there is a noteworthy and regular progression from Archaic Type to Incaic, passing through a series of perfectly logical phases, in one of which the blending of coast art with highland art may be clearly observed.

See Posnansky, 1914. Means, 1918B.

MARKHAM, SIR CLEMENTS R. 1904. *The Megalithic Age in Peru. International Congress of Americanists*, XIVth Session, II. pp. 521—529. 1908. *A Comparison of the Ancient Peruvian Carvings of the Stones of Tiahuanaco and Chavin. International Congress of Americanists*, XVIth Session, pp. 389—395.

POLO, JOSE TORIBIO. 1899. *La Piedra de Chavin. Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Lima*, IX.

Photo by Max Vargas, Arequipa.

THE RUINS OF TIAHUANACO.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth, 1920.

gave information to the effect that, having left the plains where they lived, a very fine and rich land, they had passed, on their way thence, through many great swamps and thick jungles, full of wild animals, and that, without knowing where they were going, they had arrived in these parts.

After having pacified the kingdom and having lived ninety years, of which he reigned seventy, the king died. He left many sons ; he left as his heir Tupac Yupanqui, second of this name and fifty-fourth Peruvian king. This king was very wise ; he had the great good-will of all his people and neighbours, and they sent him gifts and presents, and he returned their favours. He occupied his many sons in the government ; he gave them councillors, his relatives, and old, experienced men. He died ninety years old, having reigned forty-three. He was succeeded by Illa Tupac Capac, who reigned four years, and left as his heir Titu Raymi Cozque. He reigned thirty-one years and left as his heir Huqui Nina Auqui. He reigned forty-three years and was succeeded by Manco Capac, third or fourth of this name.

The amautas say that in the second year of the reign of Manco Capac, the fourth sun after the Creation was completed, which is about two thousand nine hundred odd years after the Deluge, and, counting year by year, it comes to the first year of Christ, our Lord. This king Manco and the Peruvian kingdom had greater power at this time than ever before. According to the count of these Peruvians, forty-three years were lacking to the completion of the four suns, and this agrees wonderfully with the reckoning of the Seventy interpreters, and with that followed by the Roman Church, which says that the Divine Word was born from the womb of the Virgin two thousand nine hundred and fifty years after the Deluge. Manco reigned twenty-three years after the two years already mentioned, and he lived many years He left

as his heir Cayo Manco Capac, fourth of this name. He reigned twenty years. He was succeeded by his son, Sinchi Ayar Manco, who died having reigned seven years. He was succeeded by Huaman Tacco Amauta, who was the sixty-first Peruvian king. In the time of this king they saw many comets and other marvellous signs; and there were great earthquakes which lasted many months. They were so wonderful that the inhabitants went about in confusion, and made great sacrifices to Illatici Huira Cocha and to mother Earth, whom they called Pachamama, beseeching them that so many signs and marvels might be turned into good. This prince reigned only five years, and he left as his heir and successor Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti, who is the sixth of this name and the sixty-second Peruvian king. They called him Pachacuti because in his time three thousand years from the Deluge were completed, and with them the fourth sun since the Creation of the world, which is four thousand years. And because in this time great armies of very fierce people came, as well by way of the Andes as by way of Brasil and Tierra Firme, they had great wars in which they lost the letters which had lasted up to that time.

CHAPTER XIV.[1]

OF THE CONFUSION WHICH WAS CAUSED IN CUZCO BY THE ENTRANCE OF STRANGE PEOPLES INTO PIRU, BECAUSE OF WHICH THE USE OF LETTERS WAS LOST.

So great was the disturbance suffered at this time by the people of Cuzco and of all the provinces of the kingdom

[1] In this Chapter we find recorded the period of general cultural decline which presumably lasted for several generations between about 900 and about 1100 A.D. It was a time of general distress and disorganisation, ushered in by wars, invasions and calamities. A general

as much on account of the marvels and portents which appeared in the sky every day with a great variety of comets and a continuous trembling of the earth and destruction of buildings, as on account of the multitude of tribes which came from all directions, publishing the

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dispersal and social irruption seems to have occurred, and for that reason the age immediately preceding the Incaic period may be looked upon as a real " Dark Age."

WIESSE, CARLOS. 1913. *Las Civilizaciones Primitivas del Peru.* Lima. pp. 121—149.

Padre Arriaga has a great deal to say about the wizards :—

" These men, whom we commonly call Wizards, although those who kill by witchcraft are rare, in general language are called Vmu and Laicca and, in some regions, Chacha and Auqui or Auquilla, which is to say, Padre, or old man, but, as they have various offices and ministries, they also bear several special names.

" *Huacapvillac,* which means He-who-speaks-with-a-Huaca, is the highest grade, and has charge of the Huaca, and speaks with it, and replies to the people the things which he pretends it says to him, although sometimes the Demon speaks to them through the stone. (And it is his duty) to make offerings and sacrifices, to observe fasts, to cause chicha to be made for the feasts of the Huacas, to teach their Idolatry, to relate their fables, and to reprehend those who are careless in the cult and in their veneration of the Huacas.

" *Malquipvillac,* He-who-speaks-with-the-Malquis, has the same office with respect to the Malquis as the last has with the Huacas.

' In the same way there are *Libiaopavillac,* who speak with the lightning, and *Punchauprillac,* who speak with the Sun.

" Each one of these has a minor minister and assistant, and so they call the latter *Yanapac,* He-who-aids. And, in many places, usurping our word, they call him Sacristan, because he serves in the sacrifices, and when the chief minister is away, the assistants are accustomed to take his place, though not always.

" *Macsa* or *Viha* are those who take care of a thousand baubles and superstitions which come before the ordinary sacrifice to the Huaca or Conopa (and come from) the private individual who consults it. . . .

" *Aucachic,* which in Cuzco is called *Ichuris,* is the Confessor ; this office does not stand by itself, but is always attached to the *Villac* or to the *Macsa* aforementioned. He confesses all the people of his *Ayllo,* even his wife and his son. These confessions are always on the festivals of their Huacas, and when they are about to go on a long journey. And they are so carefull in this office that I have met with certain boys who have never confessed to any Priest of God our Lord, but who have already confessed three or four times to these ministers of the Demon. . . .

" *Acuac* or *Accac* is He-who-has-charge-of-the-making-of-chicha-for-the-feasts. And (he looks after) the offerings to the Huacas. And on the coast (these officers) are men ; in the mountains, women, and in some places they choose girls for this ministry.

" *Socacy* is a sorcerer and one who divines with maize. He makes some little mounds of maize-grains without counting them, and then throws one in one direction, and the next in another, and, according to whether they come out even or odd, it is good or evil fortune. . . .

" *Rapiac* is also a magician, and he replies to what is asked him with

tidings of the destruction and expulsion of the inhabitants of the kingdom, that the king, Titu Yupanqui Pachacuti was full of dismay and melancholy, and he did nothing besides offer sacrifices to the gods. The affliction increased because the seers, *tarpuntaes*, *alcahuizas* and other wizards and priests told him that the entrails of animals gave evil prognostications and foretold ill fortune in everything and that *chiqui*, as they call ill fortune, was predominant in all matters relating to the king. Therefore this king, Titu, ordered that warning be given to all his governors and captains, and he made preparations and defences, fortifying the camps and fortresses, and commanding that everyone should be on the watch (for enemies) and that the number of the spies should be increased everywhere. While these preparations were being made, news was received that many hordes of warriors were marching through the Collao, and that the ferocious men who were going through the Andes were approaching, and that they had some black men among them ; and the same was said of the Coasts. And they had all prepared great armies and were laying waste the fields as they came, taking possession of villages and cities.

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the soft part of his arms ; if he shakes the right arm, he says it will be good fortune, if the left, evil.

" *Pacharicuc* or *Pacchacatic* or *Pachacuc*, is another magician who divines by means of certain spiders called Paccha, and also Oroso, and are very large and hairy. When he asks them about anything, he goes to look for them in the holes in the walls, and under stones, and he puts it on a mantle or on the ground, and he pursues it with a little stick until its feet are broken off, and then he looks to see which feet are lacking, and thereby he makes his divination.

" *Moscoc* is one who divines by dreams. A person comes to ask him something . . . and, if it is a man who consults him, he asks him for the *huaraca* from his head or for the *chuspa* or mantle, or for some other part of his clothing ; and if it is a woman, he asks for her *chumbi* or girdle, or for something similar ; and he carries it off to his house, and sleeps upon it, and he replies in accordance with what he dreams . . . .

" *Hacaricuc* or *Cuyricuc* is He-who-examines-guineapigs, and, opening them with the finger-nail, he looks to see whence blood flows, or what part of the entrails quiver. This method was much used among the gentile Romans. . . ."

ARRIAGA, PABLO JOSEPH DE. 1621. *Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Piru.* Lima. p. 17.

The governors of the lands through which they had passed had not been able to resist them. And so the king determined to assemble all his forces in order to oppose these people. Against the people of the Collao he sent some captains, and he sent others to resist the people of the Andes in the dangerous passes and at the bridges over the rivers. Titu Yupanqui, with the main body of his army, arrived at the high mountains which bear the name of Pucara, and he built many andenes,[1] trenches and so on in such a way that they each had but one very narrow entrance leading to the [first platform of the] mountain and having another athwart it, and so on all the way up, to the very highest of all, where the king had his stores and the necessary supplies. The whole stronghold formed a cone, and the entire army was within the andenes and was divided between two fortresses. Being thus fortified, the king had news that the enemy was coming nearer, and, against the advice of his men, he set forth to give battle, which was a very fierce one. The king, Titu Yupanqui received a stroke from an arrow while he was going about in all directions encouraging his men from his golden litter, and, as those who bore the litter saw so much blood and the body of their king stretched lifeless upon it, they gave alarmed cries in their dismay, and from mouth to mouth throughout his army ran the news that the king was dead, so that all the soldiers, losing courage, withdrew to the fortresses with the body of their dead king.

The enemy followed up their advantage, and in the battle many captains were killed on both sides. Titu Yupanqui's men secretly carried off his body and deposited it in Tamputocco ; later they sent ambassadors to ask leave to inter the dead to the enemy who were

[1] A Peruvian *anden* is an artificial terrace constructed either for defence in war, or for agricultural purposes. The uncounted leagues of *andenes* form a striking characteristic of Peruvian landscapes. They greatly increased the tillable area.—M.

celebrating their victory with great banquets. Leave was not granted, and in a short while the air was befouled and defiled so that almost the whole of both armies was exterminated. The amautas say that the enemy had left but five hundred soldiers living, who retired into the Andes, leaving many sick ones behind them. They killed all of the men of the army of the king (whom they could reach), and those who were left alive fled to Tamputocco, where the foul smell did not penetrate. The provinces of the kingdom, learning the death of the king, all rose up in rebellion, and the people of Tamputocco had many dissensions among themselves as to the choosing of a king.

Thus was the government of the Peruvian monarchy lost and destroyed. It did not come to its own for four hundred years, and the knowledge of letters was lost. In each province they elected their own king, and he to whom it was given to be the heir of Titu was Titu Huaman Quicho, a very young boy. The loyal men were few, and could not bear comparison with the other peoples. They went to Tamputocco, and there they raised him up to be their king, because, on account of the revolts, none could live in Cuzco, all being in turmoil. And, as men came little by little to live at Tamputocco under the protection of the king, Cuzco became almost deserted, and only the ministers of the temple remained there.

The faithful vassals were happy in Tamputocco with the boy king, for there, according to the legends of the amautas, is the very celebrated cave where the Indians had their origin, and they affirm as a certainty that there have never been seen there earthquakes, pestilences nor earth-tremors. And if evil fortune should pursue the boy king, they could hide him in the cave as in a holy place. The king came of age, and lived with much moderation for many years. He called himself king of Tamputocco, and not of Cuzco, although on certain days he went to worship in the temple (at Cuzco). He left

as his heir Cozque Huaman Titu, who lived twenty-five years. Of him and of his successors nothing of note is related until the return to Cuzco.

Cozque Huaman Titu was succeeded by Cuyo Manco (Cuis Manco?); he reigned fifty years. Huillca Titu followed him and reigned thirty. Sairi Tupac followed him and reigned forty. Tupac Yupanqui, first of this name, followed him, and reigned twenty-five years. Huayna Tupac, third of this name, followed him; he wished to rebuild the city of Cuzco, but, on the advice of the seers, he desisted; he reigned thirty-six years. He left as his heir Guanacauri who reigned ten years and left as his heir Huillca Huaman; he reigned seventy years and left as his heir Huaman Capac. This man reigned forty years and was succeeded by Paullu Raymi;[1] he reigned nineteen years and left as his heir Manco Capac Amauta who was followed by Auqui Atau Huillca who reigned thirty-five years. This king assembled many troops to go against the rebels, but death cut short his plans. Manco Titu Capac succeeded him, and he reigned for seventy-two years, leaving as his heir Huayna Tupac, third of this name, who reigned fifty years and left as his heir Tupac Cauri, fourth of this name, whom they afterwards called Pachacuti for the reason which we shall see in the next chapter, and he was the seventh of this name.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE EVENTS IN THE TIME OF TUPAC CAURI PACHACUTI THE SEVENTH, AND OF OTHER PERUVIAN KINGS.

In the ninth year of the reign of Tupac Cauri Pachacuti, the seventh (of this name), three thousand five hundred years since the Deluge were completed. This king

[1] *Paulio Taymi* in the text.—J.

began to pull his forces together and to recover some cities and provinces, but as the people obeyed him with so little certainty, and as they were so greatly corrupted in the matter of religion and customs, he took steps to conquer them, because he said that if those people communicated with his own they would corrupt them with the great vices to which they had given themselves up like ungovernable beasts. Therefore he tactfully sent messengers in all directions, asking the chiefs to put a stop to superstition and to the adoration of the many gods and animals which they adored ; and the outcome of this was but a slight mending of their ways and the slaying of the ambassadors. The king dissembled for the time being and made great sacrifices and appeals to Illatici Huira Cocha. One reply was that the cause of the pestilence had been the letters, and that no one ought to use them nor resuscitate them, for, from their employment, great harm would come. Therefore Tupac Cauri commanded by law that, under the pain of death, no one should traffic in *quilcas*, which were the parchments and leaves of trees on which they used to write, nor should use any sort of letters. They observed this oracular command with so much care that after this loss the Peruvians never used letters. And, because in later times a learned amauta invented some characters, they burnt him alive, and so, from this time forth, they used threads and *quipos* with the difference which we shall see.

At the same time, they built in Pacarictampu[1] a sort of University where the nobles attended the exercises of the soldiery and the boys were taught the manner of counting by the quipos, adding together the different colours, which served as letters, by means of which they were increasing their slight learning. The soldiery, and the loyalty of his people being assured, he determined to

[1] The same as *Tamputocco*.—M.

conquer the rebels. For this purpose, all his men were placed under arms, but the attack did not take place because there were remarkable earthquakes which ruined many buildings all through the region of Cuzco, and rivers sprang up in dry beds and ran for many days through dry gullies where no water had been seen before, and destroyed many villages. After this, a pestilence took place, of which innumerable people died, and the amautas say that only in Tamputocco was no pestilence seen: a fact which led Manco Capac to establish his court there. Tupac Cauri died of this plague at more than eighty years of age, leaving many sons born of different women. He left as his heir Arantial,[1] the seventy-ninth Peruvian king. This prince held very sumptuous funeral services for his father, and with him he buried his legitimate wife and his most beloved concubines, for they are not held to be adulteresses. Some old writers, like Betanzos, say that they interred with the kings of Piru a thousand children, and when they received the fringe, which was introduced afterwards, two hundred children, brought from all over the kingdom, were sacrificed. According to what I have been able to find out this was not the custom, though certain kings did it sometimes. The manner in which (the king) interred his father was this: He took out his liver and heart and deposited them in a vessel of gold and silver, and they preserved the body, embalmed in certain aromatic preparations, which preserved it without spoiling. From this, the Ingas, who afterwards succeeded to this monarchy, took the custom.

Arantial began to reign almost without vassals because the great plague had almost depopulated the provinces, and of the few who remained some withdrew (further) into the Andes, and others (retired) toward Xauja, and there they stayed many years until, in happier times, and under the good government of the Ingas, they were

[1] Probably a corruption of *Ranti Alli*.—J.

reduced to obedience to Cuzco, as will be told further on. He (Arantial) lived more than seventy years; he left as his heir Huari Titu Capac. Nothing noteworthy is said about him, only that he lived eighty years. He left as his heir Huispa Titu Auqui, who died aged more than seventy years, but reigned only eighteen, and he left as his heir Toco Cozque, who was the eighty-second king of Piru.

In the time of this king great bands of people entered the Andes by way of Panama, and they arrived at Cuzco and other villages of those provinces and settled down in them. They lived like beasts, without decency and government, and they ate human flesh. And from those who came by way of the port of Buena-Ventura sprang the Pijaos and the Paeces.[1] The king had withdrawn with his small family, and, when these barbarians came, they received them in a friendly manner, and they mingled with them, avoiding almost all their vices and idolatry. (Toco Cozque) died at the age of eighty. He left as his heir Ayar Manco who lived many years and reigned twenty-two, leaving as his heir Condoroca.[2] He was very wise and bore himself with great prudence as regards the barbarians who had filled his kingdom, although his was a government through (their) courtesy and not through (their) obedience.

Being about to die, he assembled his sons and told them that those vices of theirs and the eating of human flesh were against the ancient laws, and that Illatici Huira Cocha had always punished them and that he would chastise them, as well, if, little by little, they did not give them up. He died at eighty years of age; it is not said how many years he reigned; he left as his heir Amaro, who was the eighty-third (king). He left as his

[1] Nations of the Kingdom of New Granada.—J. Probably these were the people of the coast of Colombia.—M.

[2] Thus the text. May be *Cuntur Auca* or *Cuntur Roca*.—J.

heir Chinchiroca,[1] who reigned forty-two years. This king, seeing the great number of his sons, grandsons and great grandsons, founded the family called Huicaquirau. And at this time the use of golden idols began. He died aged more than seventy, leaving as his heir his first-born son, called Illa Toca, who reigned seventy-two years, and left as his heir Lluqui Yupanqui, who reigned forty-five years. Roca Titu, who reigned twenty-five years. He left as his heir Inti Maita Capac. In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of this king four thousand years since the Deluge were completed and the fifth sun since the creation of the world, and, on this account, they called him Pachacuti, the eighth of the name. There was no obedience, and men lived in confusion, like beasts, which lasted for some years until the Ingas introduced themselves into this monarchy in the manner which we shall see in the following chapter.[2]

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[1] *Sinchi Roca*?—J.

[2] The most interesting point in this Chapter is that which touches upon the question of mummification. Mr. Joyce and other writers have stated that real mummification, that is embalming with chemical preservatives, was unknown in Peru. It is generally assumed that the mummies of the coast are preserved merely on account of the extreme dryness of that region. That, however, would not preserve the bodies of the defunct great ones in the highlands, where it is damp a large part of the year. As a matter of fact, it has been demonstrated that the ancient Andeans did use artificial preservatives upon the bodies of the distinguished dead, and that they had, therefore, true mummification.—Joyce. 1912. p. 145.

Castaing, Alphonse. 1887. *Les Embaumements et les Sepultures Chez les Anciens Peruviens. Archives de la Société Americaine de France*, v, pp. 120—134.

Reutter, M. 1915. *Analyses de Deux Masses Ayant Servi aux Incas a Embaumer leurs Morts. Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, vi, pp. 288—293.

Probably the Incas paid as much honour to their dead as any people who have ever lived. Plentiful material is to be found in all the old and modern books on the subject of ancient Peru, but see especially :—

Betanzos, Juan de. (Flourished, 1551). 1880. *Suma y Narracion de los Incas*. Edition of Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, v. Madrid.

Pizarro, Pedro. (Flourished, 1535). 1917. *Descubrimiento y Conquista del Peru*. Edition of H. H. Urteaga and Carlos B. Romero. *Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru*, vi. Lima.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE KINGS INGAS AND OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY INTRODUCED THEMSELVES INTO THE GOVERNMENT.

EVERY day the affairs of Piru went from bad to worse, and the kings of Cuzco were such only in name, because the vices had taken all obedience from them, so that decency was brought to an end and confusion prevailed. The chief interest of everyone was bestiality, the origin of all the misfortunes which afflicted the kingdom. This sinfulness lasted from the years of the Deluge up to the . . . .[1] of our Redemption, or for more than . . . .[2] continuously. . . .[3] A lady of the royal caste was president of these gatherings; her name was Mama Ciuaco. She heard the complaints of the others with all compassion; she consoled them, and went about earning their good will so that they respected her as an oracle. Many men who greatly deplored the vices that prevailed gathered together with the women, and they were all prepared to undergo any risk for the sake of paying the debt which was owing to nature. The leader of these men was a youth who was a son of Mama Ciuaco, and was handsome, well built and very valiant. He was of lofty ideals, which gave greater value to his twenty years. Properly he was called Roca, and, by antonomasia, among his intimates, Inga, which means Lord, because only to look at him caused love and respect to be felt.

His mother, who was not one to let slip an opportunity, seeing her son in this position, and perceiving

[1] A blank in the text.—J. [2] Another blank.—J.

[3] A passage not suitable for translation. The women complain of the slight esteem in which they are held, and hold meetings about it.—M.

that there were a good many men and women who would support her plans, she talked it over with her sister, who was a great sorceress who had had dealings with the Demon, in order to decide the best method for putting her scheme into effect. Then she shut herself up alone with her son and spoke to him in these words: "My son, you well know the very happy state our ancestors enjoyed when they only tried to concern themselves with military exercises and to live as our great father the Sun and the supreme Lord, Illatici Huira Cocha, ordered them to do, following the precepts of nature. While this way of life lasted, this city flourished, many kings followed one another in it, the realms increased, fortune was favourable, and our people triumphed always over their enemies.

"The bestiality which the barbarians brought into the realm, of which you will find our quipos full, has changed and altered all this and now holds it in the miserable bondage which you see. I have determined to make you king, and I rely upon Illatici, who is to aid my plans, and I trust that you, with your valour, are destined to restore this city and kingdom to its ancient condition." Tears stopped her discourse and submerged her tongue; she expected alleviation from the reply of the valiant youth, who thus spoke to his mother:

"Mother and lady, what you have proposed does not lie beyond the common weal of the kingdom, and, in so far as it concerns myself, I hold it to be right, and, in order that your desire may have effect, I will give up my life two thousand and one times." The mother was very happy with the success of her action, and, assuring herself of the resolution of her son, and seeing how well he had taken her advice and the capacity which he had for carrying out everything, she threw her arms around his neck, saying that she did not expect less of his valor and spirit than

corresponded with the blood and estate which she had given him. She warned him that, in matters of so much importance, discretion was necessary, because secrecy gave success to all undertakings. And she warned him that the arrangement of the matter lay only with his aunt and her.

Mama Ciuaco related to her sister what had passed between her and her son, how heedful and thoughtful she had found him, and that a happy outcome was promised for all that she planned, so that she would at once do whatever was necessary. The sister was delighted with this news, and at once they brought some men who beat a quantity of fine gold into delicate sheets, and the two sisters, without the aid of any other person, fastened the sheets of gold and also many brilliant gems and precious stones upon a curious shirt which shone in the rays of the sun, as they wished it to do. They tried it upon the boy many times in order to find out what way it should be worn. For their purpose, they took him secretly to the *Chingana*, a famous cave which overlooks Cuzco, and which, to-day, extends as far as the convent of Santo Domingo, which was anciently the house of the Sun. They dressed him in those plates of gold. They instructed him to appear after four days at the hour of noon on a prominent spot which lorded it over the city, so that the inhabitants of it might see him, and, after staying there a brief space, to return and hide himself in the Chingana; for this they left him enough food.

At this time, the two sisters pretended that, while their son and nephew Inga Roca was sleeping in his house, the Sun came down wrapped in rays of light and carried him off to the sky, saying that in a short while he would send him back to be king of Cuzco, because he was his son. Thus they averred, and they proved it by six other persons of their family who were

conversant with the matter. All went well; everyone believed it, for the valour of the boy and the esteem in which he was held by all gave force to it. Great numbers of people came every moment to know if there was any news, and the women feigned a thousand things suitable to the occasion. At the end of the four days, when the boy was to appear, they spent all the morning making great sacrifices to the Sun, beseeching him with pretended eagerness to return the boy to them. The hour of noon arrived. Inga Roca came out upon the appointed place, called *mochadero* by the Indians, and now the pedestal for three crosses. The sun flashed upon the shining plates, which makes it seem that he came out more brightly this day than others, and the gems glistened like the Sun himself. A great number of people saw it, and they were wonder-struck by the event. They called to one another to look at the marvel, but, as he disappeared so soon, it whetted the curiosity of those who saw it, and made those who did not, wish to. They said that was Manco,[1] without doubt, and that the Sun, his father, showed the boy thus like unto himself on account of the prayers of his mother. They welcomed him; he showed gratitude to some and wept tenderly with others; with all he dissimulated.

She (Ciuaco) was in the temple. They went to her to acknowledge her wife of the Sun, and so great was the applause which they gave her on account of her son, that she pretended to be indisposed; thereby she got rid of the fatigue of the crowd, and was left at liberty to go and order her son to make the same appearance at the end of two days, and then to hide himself, as he had done the first day.

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[1] This for *Roca* or *Inga Roca*.—J.

CHAPTER XVII.

IN WHICH THE SUBJECT OF THE LAST CHAPTER IS CONTINUED AND THE OUTCOME OF THE MATTER IS RELATED.

THE people were in suspense, and they were desirous of seeing the outcome of so notable an affair. And, when several days had gone by during which Inga Roca appeared three times in his gold plates, he appeared for the last time without them, dressed instead in a shirt of various colours with a blue fringe having a blue and crimson *huincha* which rested upon his brow, and having *ojotas* of the same colour upon his feet. He came forth wrapped in a *chuce* or blanket on which different sorts of birds and animals were skilfully woven. At this time, his mother had the greater part of the city, as well as many people who, attracted by the rumour which was going about, had come from the neighbouring villages, all gathered in the temple where there were great supplications and sacrifices to the Sun so that he would produce his son; and she (Ciuaco) pretended that Illatici had informed her that the boy was in the hill of Chingana and that she was to go and find him and bring him to the temple where all might hear and do what Inga Roca told them in the name of the Sun.

Great was the joy caused by this news: in some, because it was the end of uncertainty, in others, because it gave a successful end to their desires. Many dances and gala clothes were made ready, and they climbed the Chingana, accompanying Mama Ciuaco, who went ahead of the rest. They turned the steps up the Guatanay, so that, when they began to climb the hill, their faces were toward the Sun. She (Ciuaco) made many supplications to the Sun, kneeling and kissing

the ground, and she did it with so much feeling that she gave an appearance of reality to the mystery she had deceitfully set on foot. She arrived, about noon, at the fort with her following. She sought in the fortress for her son and other places different from that where he was; then she remained for a moment absorbed in thought, after which, with great joy, she started for the Chingana, giving the people to understand that the Sun had told her that the boy was there. The people followed her, and, under a large rock cut out near the bottom so as to form a cornice that served him as a seat, they found Inga Roca leaning back as if asleep. The mother came to him with mingled anxiety and joy; she called him aloud; she touched him with her hands, and the brave youth, burnt by the Sun, woke up with a start as if surprised to see himself in that place and his mother with so many people. With grave words she told him that all were to return to the temple, and that his father, the Sun, commanded that he should tell them what he had heard from the Sun.

They returned to the temple in deep silence, and Inga Roca seated himself in a prominent position upon a *tiana* of gold and gems, worked with great skill, and made on purpose. The desire to know something so rare commanded their attention, and Inga Roca, seeing his auditors in suspense, spoke thus: "My friends, who among you doubts the special love which my father, the Sun, has for us? When the power of this empire became feebleness, he piously tried to find a remedy. Vices and bestialities have been the fire which has consumed its greatness and which has reduced it almost to the point of vanishing; good order was turned into confusion, and we contented ourselves by saying that once there was a government. What all the provinces of this empire had payed in tribute to this city as its head was turned into a similar amount of scorn. But

how much the way of life has changed; and, instead of following the ways of men, you go about like veritable animals, letting your valour soften in the same measure that you have forgotten the use of sling and arrow!

"Because you have permitted this fall, which has not changed into slavery only because of my father, the Sun, and in order to find a remedy for you, he commands you to obey me in all things as his son. And I, who will not be violent with you, I will subject you to the exercise of arms; these you must use, for, by their means, as the quipo-camayos tell us, our ancestors were lords of all the world. This occupation will exile idleness, will reduce our enemies, will get the lost power that was ours, and will earn for us the lustre which we lack. In my father, the Sun, you will have a refuge, and his rays will not dry up the land, nor will the Moon deny to it her rains, needful to it at different seasons, as you well know through bitter experience. The law of my government will be adopted from the past, not newly made. This promised happiness comes from my father, the Sun, who cannot fail; the painful part which you, who, by his compelling will, are subject to me, will feel if you do not obey is that he will send thunder to dismay you, tempests to afflict you, rains to destroy your crops, and rays which will take away your lives."

Inga Roca said this with so much majesty that there was no one who contradicted his words. All went to him to kiss his hand, and he embraced them tenderly. He ordered great sacrifices of animals and amusements with feasts for the people for eight days. At the end of them he commanded that a meeting of the amautas and quipo-camayos should be held, and, at it, he informed himself as to the deeds of his ancestors, as to what provinces were subject to the ancient kings of Cuzco and as to the character of their inhabitants. He also

enquired what fortresses they had, what manner of fighting, what arms and what warlike instruments they had, which [provinces] had been loyal to the Crown and which had not. He decided to send messengers to all, but before he did so, he arranged that some merchants should go and exchange their goods in these provinces and that they should divulge that he (Roca) was the son of the Sun, and that his father had carried him off to his dwelling where he remained among the rays of light four days, receiving a thousand favours, and that he had returned to reign over and govern the world and that all ought to obey him. This plan came out very well, for it was executed in a studiously careless manner. Seeing its good effect, he despatched his messengers to all the Lords, to inform them of the great event, and he ordered the messenger sent to each lord not to require from them more than the recognition which they owed to his father, the Sun, building him temples and holding sacrifices in them, and all obeying him [Roca] as his son. All received the message favourably, save the kings of Vilcas, Guáitara and Tiaguanaco, who replied that they doubted the truth of the affair, but that, when they were certain of it, they would send their homage to him. Inga Roca hid his regret, and he told the members of his council that, as the affair was so hard to believe, and as those kings had not witnessed it as they had, they were not to wonder that the king of Vilcas should be suspicious, and that as his father, the Sun, had ordered him to take a wife so that, by his example, others should do the same, he would not delay an instant in doing it.[1]

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[1] The story of Cuiaco and Inca Roca which Montesinos tells us here is the third one of the three which have been used to explain the origin of the Inca dynasty, the other two being the Tampu-Tocco myth (used by Salcamayhua) and the Titicaca myth (used by Garcilasso and Cieza).

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF INGA ROCA.[1]

MAMA CIUACO, mother of Inga Roca, took heed of all that her son was arranging, and she was filled with wonder by his great talents. She saw that vice was in force and that it was applauded by the people, and that it was ignored by Inga Roca, so she addressed to him tender chidings because of his negligence. He satisfied her that the delay had been a warning, and that she would soon see what he had arranged as a remedy for the situation. He called to consult with him the most favoured and courageous men, whom he had chosen as his councillors, and told them that he had express orders to marry, so as to assure the succession, for his father, the Sun, commanded him to marry so as to increase the living and replace those destroyed by plagues and famines in the past. And all the rest were to do the same, after his example, under the severest penalties in case of failure, and on pain of losing the human seed. (He told them) that he had assembled them in order, with their approval, to take a wife, and that it was his wish to choose his sister Mama Cura, because thus the descent from the Sun would be most certain. But Inga Roca would not have done so had it not been for the fact that his sister had overheard the whole falsehood, and by making her queen he would oblige her to keep silence. All the members of the council approved the choice. They went to the house of Mama Ciuaco, and told her that they had come for her daughter, and, when all the people of the city were assembled, she (Mama

[1] Certain passages are omitted from this Chapter by the present translator, who thinks it best not to present them to the reader.

Cura) was borne to the temple, where Inga Roca received her, and thence he took her to the royal houses.

After this, Inga Roca commanded that the warriors be made ready and that they be given instruction in warfare. He found that there were ten thousand fighting men, most of them married, to whom he gave permission that their wives should serve them in every way, like slaves, which was an incentive furnished by Inga Roca to increase the marriages. He made preparations for a campaign against Vilcas. The king of Lima Tambo [Rimac Tampu] offered him free passage and soldiers; the king of Abancay did the same. The king of Guancarrama [Huancaraimi] sent messengers to tell him not to pass through his land in order to do harm to the king of Vilcas, because he would not permit it. The Inga received them well, and by their means sent a message to the king of Guancarrama to ask how it came about that he was so lacking in fidelity as to break his promise of obedience, and the Inga sent some of his vassals to bring back the reply. The king of Guancarrama received them very well and replied that his huaca (thus they call their idols) had told him that the Inga was not a true Lord, and that, until he knew it for certain, he was not obliged to keep his promise. Notwithstanding this, the Inga pressed forward, and found his enemy in a place well suited to defence, for, in order to reach it, the Inga would have to ascend a very dangerous declivity where the highway now passes through a much better opening than was there then. The Inga sent his engineers ahead, and they returned, [saying] that it was necessary that half the army should go by way of the valley bottom, and that the other half should go by the upper road. So it was done, and when the summit was reached, there was a very bloody battle in which the king of Guancarrama was vanquished and killed, and the Inga took the idol which

had given the reply and rolled it down the mountain. To-day, there is a tradition there among the Indians that when they came to seize the stone [to destroy it], a very gaily coloured parrot came forth and went flying down the mountain till it entered a stone which the Indians afterwards greatly esteemed, and even to-day they *mochan* to it.

Padre Joseph Arriaga, of the Compañia, in the treatise which he wrote on the extirpation of idolatry,[1] refers to a letter from padre Luis Teruel,[2] written from Cuzco, in which he makes mention of this incident of the idol and says that the Inga was Manco Capac. And when I was passing through that place I made an investigation, and the tradition of the Indians is as follows: That he whom the idol declared to be no true Lord was the first Inga, and, as some careless writers confound him with the first king, called Manco Capac, who brought lordly power to Cuzco more than . . . .[3] years before, padre Teruel called the first Inga Manco Capac, following this erroneous opinion. I have declared this in order that it may be understood that when the idol said of the first Inga that he was no true Lord, it was because of his prevention of the deeds of the vicious and because of the fabulous introduction of his reign; and this Inga is the same as he whom I call Inga Roca, for it is certain that he was the first Inga, and Manco the first king.

Inga Roca remained at the fortress, which he called . . . .[4] and it is a league from Guancarrama. He finished it and perfected it, leaving there a garrison of soldiers; then he went on with his army. And, before arriving at Andaguáilas, he found many warriors who were holding against him the pass in a narrow part of a valley. Inga Roca had prepared for this beforehand,

[1] Chapter IX.—J.
[2] *Irusterber* in text.—J.
[3] Blank in text.—J.
[4] Blank in text.—J.

having been informed that the king of Andaguáilas was of the same mind as the king of Vilcas, on account of the reply which the idol of Guancarrama gave. He sent a third of his army through some mountains with great silence and speed, to take possession of the (other) entrance of the valley, so that the enemy could not get it, and he ordered that, if the enemy had already taken it, his men should attack their rear-guard, advising the Inga of what took place, so that he might attack also. Thus it was done, and, caught between the two divisions, the troops of Andaguáilas suffered great mortality at the hands of the Inga, until they yielded, and he received the survivors benignantly, and they acknowledged him true son of the Sun.

CHAPTER XIX.

HOW THE KING OF VILCAS AND OTHER LORDS SENT THEIR OBEDIENCE TO INGA ROCA, AND OF HIS RETURN TO CUZCO.

The king of Vilcas watched closely these deeds of Inga Roca, and they threw him into confusion, for, on the one hand, he was aware that the idol of Guancarrama had said that he (Roca) was no true Lord, and, on the other hand, he was forced to consider the ease with which he (Roca) had conquered the Lords of Guancarrama and Andaguáilas, being now in their lands and having great advantage both as to men and position. Finally he (Vilcas) resolved to give himself up peaceably to the Inga. He sent him his messengers, laden with fine clothing and with many arrows and bows. Inga Roca received them a league from Andaguáilas; he

treated them very well, and, in their presence, after having chosen for himself a rich mantle, shirt and *ojotas*, he commanded the remainder to be distributed among his soldiers, who were quartered in family groups through the camp; and from this act sprang the custom of distributing spoils among the soldiers and gifts[1] as military prizes.

The mother of Inga Roca took care to learn of his deeds. For his good fortune, she offered great sacrifices, and caused many priests to be dedicated to this office, and, afterwards, Inga Roca confirmed them in it. As soon as she knew the victories which he had won, and how the king of Vilcas had yielded himself peacefully, she sent a *chasqui* to the Inga begging him to return to Cuzco, for Illatice[2] Huira. Cocha, now that his foes had been made subject to him, wished to see him there. Inga Roca did so. He entered Cuzco in great triumph; the soldiers marched before him adorned with their spoils, and then came the Inga in a golden litter with his relatives forming an escort about him after the fashion of a body-guard. And thus was established the guard of orejones,[3] men of the royal caste. All the chief people of Cuzco went out to receive him with much dancing, and in this way he went to the temple to give thanks to the Sun, and thence to his palace, where he remained eight days, enjoying great banquets with his relatives, captains and most valiant soldiers.

Inga Roca established laws very well adjusted to nature, and he added grave penalties to those who should break the ancient laws, and he commanded that a

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[1] Jimenez' edition says *dváidas*; this must be a mis-print for *dádivas*. —M.

[2] Thus the text of Jimenez.—M.

[3] As the English equivalent for this Spanish word—big-ears—is not dignified, most editors preserve the Spanish term. The *orejones* wore enormous ear-studs which greatly distended the ear-lobe, the mark of patrician blood or high position.—M.

Photo by Max Vargas, Arequipa.

THE PALACE OF THE INCA ROCCA AT CUZCO.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth, 1920.

document[1] should be drawn up containing them all, of which the chief were: That no one should marry more than one woman, and that she should be of his kindred, because it was best, and families would not get confounded with one another; That people should marry from eighteen years upwards, so that the men should know how to work and the women how to wait upon them; That flocks and fruits should be held in common, and that all should array themselves and feed themselves from the common stock. This law was altered later, each Indian being given land for his crops.

As regards religion, he commanded that the Sun should be regarded as supreme god, and that in his temple great sacrifices should be held and thanks should be given, especially for his having sent his son to them to rule them and draw them away from the weakened and vicious life which they were leading. He commanded the erection near the temple of a house or convent of maidens for the service of it—whence springs the present custom of girls serving in the churches; and these maidens were of royal blood. He laid many such duties upon them touching the matter of worship and religion, promising them, in the name of his father, the Sun, many good things if they observed his rules, and giving them to understand that the Sun himself commanded it. And the people were persuaded of the truth of it, seeing the great achievements and the great prudence of Inga Roca.

He honoured the men of the blood royal by permitting them to bore their ears where women do to-day, but with larger holes, which were brought [gradually] to half the size of those of the Inga; and this was the sign of nobility and of royal caste, and the Spaniards

[1] A memorandum or codex should be understood by this.—J. Although the Incas had no true writing they seem to have had some way of perpetuating the memory of events.—M. *Cf.* Garcilasso, v. 23: II. p. 72 ff; Markham, 1910, p. 141.

called such men *orejones* on account of the hole in their ears. To generals he granted the *llauto* with a fringe, which did not fall over the face, for that was reserved for himself, but which hung on the left side when they were going to war, and on the right side when they were coming back with victory, and, if vanquished, they came back without it.

Inga Roca, having now governed . . . .[1] years, and having . . . .[1] years of age, and feeling himself afflicted with an infirmity, called to him his two legitimate sons, Lloque[2] Yupanqui and Manco Capac, and he entrusted them to Mama Chauha,[3] telling her to bring them up as sons of the Sun, trying not to let slip what he had gained for them, and he ordered that Lloque should marry his sister Mama Chahua. And, after having given them much good advice, he died. Lloque Yupanqui inherited the kingdom, and with all speed he made great demonstrations of grief for the death of his father, which mourning lasted for more than six months. In this period they offered to his memory many herds and birds and *cuis* ;[4] and, having embalmed him (Roca), they placed his body in the temple with the same pomp of vessels and garments as he had when he was alive ; whence sprang the custom of interring the Ingas with all their property.

Lloque Yupanqui was very prudent and peaceful, and he governed to the satisfaction of all, preserving the kingdom in the state in which it was left by his father. Nothing noteworthy is said of him save that, in his time, the family of the Rauraupanacas had their beginning, taking their origin from his brother, Manco

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[1] Blank in text.—J.

[2] *Alloque* in the text, but always in this form.—J.

[3] *Cahua* or *Caua* in other authors.—J.

[4] The *cui* is a sort of guineapig which is very common in Peru. Children use it as a pet.—M.

Capac. Lloque had by his wife, Mama Chahua, three sons; the first was Mayta Capac, the second Apu Cuti Manco, the third Apu Tacac, from whom descended the Chibainin aillo. He ruled . . . .[1] years and died an old man, leaving as his heir Mayta Capac, who married Mama Tancarayhachi.[2] Nothing memorable is said of this Inga, who was the third, save that he had two sons, Capac Yupanqui and Putano Uman, from who descended the Uscamaytas. He ruled . . . .[1] years, and died at the age of . . . .[1] His heir was Capac Yupanqui.[3]

CHAPTER XX.

OF WHAT BEFELL INGA CAPAC YUPANQUI AND HIS BROTHER, AND OF THE LIVES OF OTHER INGAS.

After having observed the obsequies of his father, Inga Capac Yupanqui held great festivals to celebrate his coronation, and, on the day on which he took the fringe, he distributed many garments of fine wool, and many vessels of gold and silver, among his vassals; and, among those who were of less account, he divided many ewes and sheep,[4] taking even more care in this matter than his ancestors. His government was very prudent, and so it was lacking in innovations. At the end of some years, two comets appeared in the sky, one was the colour of blood and was shaped like a lance, and it lasted more than a year, being visible from mid-

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[1] Blank in text.—J. [2] *Tancar-ri-Hachi.*—J.

[3] The best description of Vilcas and the ruins there is to be found in Cieza (1864, pp. 312—315, being Chapter LXXXVIII of his Travels).

[4] This, of course, refers to llamas, not to real sheep, of which there were none in the Andes before the Conquest.—M

night almost to midday ; the other was the size and shape of a great round shield, and it appeared at the same time as the other, both being in the West. The Inga ordered great sacrifices to be held, as well of boys and girls as of real ewes and as others of gold and silver. The people consulted the seers and wizards in order that they might tell them the meaning of the comets ; the reply was that they signified great evils, and that, without doubt, the monarchy of Piru was coming to an end very soon. The Inga commanded that those who said these things should be killed. Those who remained alive redeemed their annoying by explaining the comets to him at his pleasure.

The brother of the Inga, called Putano Uman, with other discontented lads, tried to rise up against his brother, and he excused his ambition by saying that the Inga was very indolent, and he tried to attract the soldiers to his side by gifts. The Inga had an inkling of the matter, and, in order to get to the root of the trouble, he sent spies among the talkers and gossipers. But he succeeded in learning nothing, because the cautiousness of the plotters was great, and the activities of Putano increased, as did also the Inga's suspicions. He ordered that a banquet should be held for his brother and his accomplices, and, that after they had become drunk, some men who were in his confidence should listen to what they said, pretending to be drunk themselves. At the banquet, the plotters, in their intoxication, told in an hour all that they had kept silence about for a long time, and some said some very evil-sounding things against the Inga. [The soldiers of the Inga] took them prisoners, and the next day, after his drunkenness had passed, they tormented [Putano] ; he confessed the plot and made known his accomplices. They were taken prisoners, and, when the matter was substantiated, they were condemned, the brother of the Inga to be buried alive, and the other guilty ones to be thrown

into an enclosure full of serpents and tigers and lions, in order that they might die of the poison and between the claws of these animals.

Capac Yupanqui had married Mama Cori Illpay Chaua ;[1] he had by her four sons. The first was Sinchi Roca Inga ; the second was Apu Calla Umpiri ; the third Apu Zacay ; and the fourth Chima Chauin, from whom descend the Apu Maitas of Cuzco. By his concubines he had many other sons and daughters. This Inga governed with great ability, and in his time almost all the provinces paid tribute to him. He kept them very friendly, for when some messenger came, he (the Inga) dressed himself in the fashion (of the messenger's province), and, thus arrayed, came out upon the pampa to meet him. He lived . . . .[2] years of which he ruled . . . .,[2] and he left as his heir Sinchi Roca Inga.

Sinchi Roca, the fifth Inga, was very sagacious, and he always endeavoured to enforce the laws of his ancestors. At this time, abominable wickedness was very general ; the kings did little about it, not wishing to impart (knowledge of) it to their vassals. Those who most deeply regretted it were the women. Their anger arrived at such a level that they ordered many men to be killed by witchcraft, an evil of which they made use by means of seers and wizards, who also were very wicked men. This was carried so far that they killed many important persons. Inga Sinchi Roca ordered a meeting to be held, and the members of it determined that the ancient laws should be observed, and they commanded that death by burning with the instruments of their witchcraft should be meted out not only to the wizards but also to those who commanded them to kill others, and this penalty was promptly carried out upon the guilty, who were many.

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[1] Or *Cahua*.—J.

[2] Blank in text.—J.

In addition to their other wickedness, the wizards had driven mad many important persons. This evil consisted in [giving the people] some small stones [and in making them eat] certain herbs so that they gave themselves up to a violent love for other and more modest people. These [wizards] had their idols which they consulted. Among others was a huaca or idol of love, which was a stone, white, black or sometimes brown, and very smooth. Some of these stones had the form of two persons embracing, and these little stones [show clearly] their nature. The wizards search for them (or at any rate they say that they find them) when the lightning is flashing from the clouds with much thunder and a bolt falls, and they find (the stones) in the place where it fell, and these stones are held in greater esteem than other artificial ones cut off from them. These idols are called *huacanqui* or *cuyancarumi*. These idols are sold at great prices, especially among the women, and the use of them lasts down to this day. There is no lack of buyers, and they are sold with the understanding that they are to be kept. This [sort of] idol is used by women who claim to be happy and beloved, and the Demon has made them believe that they should fast every new moon for two or three days, eating only white maize and abstaining from conversation with men, and men with women. They place the idol in a new little basket, together with many blue and green feathers from certain birds which they call *Tunqui* and from others called *Pilco*,[1] and with maize flour, certain sweet-smelling herbs and coca-leaves. This little basket they keep with the clean clothes, and every month they renew the

[1] From *pillco*, red; this term may refer to several kinds of birds. The *Tunki* are a species of *Rupicola*, although here it would seem more likely that a sort of *Trogon*, and even a *Tanagra*, and their relatives, is intended. In these amulets were placed, and are placed to-day, feathers of *Quinti* birds (humming-birds).—J.

maize-flour with various ceremonies, and they wash their faces with it and fast for some days.

Also, they used for the same purposes another diabolical invention: they took some valuable articles, such as hairs, some garments which had been drenched with sweat—because they say that sweat gives greater effects in this sort of thing—saliva, and finally some other thing which belongs to the person they wish to enthral with diabolical love, and they make him suffer terrible pains in the heart, depriving them of understanding and making them fools, so that, although they see, they do not see, or rather they do not understand. For this [piece of witchcraft] the method of the wizard was to take a great quantity of coca after midnight, green tobacco, and cinnamon of the Andes, with which mixture they preserve themselves from sleep. Then they chant in a low voice, calling upon the spirits or souls of the persons whose belongings they have before them. As soon as they appear, in illusion, from the Devil, the wizard examines into the cause for their not loving each other, and having heard their excuses or fears, he reprimands them or commands them, notwithstanding what is said, to do as he tells them, binding them together with a woollen cord. And, taking black maize and other things [the wizards then] wash the trophies which they have before them, saying; "With this I cleanse all your acts and loves of adverse fortune," and they call this *chiqui*. Then they take all the aforesaid things, and, with the masticated coca and other things, and with some *chaquira*, they place them in a new vessel and inter it in a secret and remote place, usually at the junction of two rivers, which the Indians call *tincuc*. The Indians say that this sort of witchcraft is so powerful that no person enthralled by it can separate himself from her whom he loves, and they almost wish to say that it overcomes free-will. A certain friend

of mine, a priest, told me that he was very greatly afflicted because he could not make certain people who used [this witchcraft] understand the opposite. And he told me that he had found out for himself that these pains in the heart and this shortening of the life were caused by certain herbs which the wizards place in the food after the burying of the vessel, and from them comes, say the herbalists of this land, a certain humor upon the heart which causes these accidents, and as time goes on, it turns into a hypochondriacal humor from which, in those who have taken these herbs, follow pains in the heart and sudden deaths.

CHAPTER XXI.

CERTAIN THINGS ARE TOLD RELATING TO THE ANTECEDENTS AND DEEDS OF THE INGA SINCHI ROCA.

The witchcraft of the time of Sinchi Roca was directly caused by viciousness, as we have seen. They also used the wizards for foretelling the events of the future, and the secret method for learning certain events was to place in the fire a large flat earthenware vessel, which they call *callana*, containing a number of grains of maize of various colours, and each representing a person, in accordance with the name they gave it. The seer, after having put much coca and green tobacco in his mouth, and speaking between his teeth, asked it [what he wished to know], and he urged it to give its answer by means of shaking [the vessel and its contents]. As soon as the grains [of maize] began to be shaken, some flew away from others, or drew nearer together. And, if some grain failed to do what the seer commanded,

it was punished by him with a little rod, as if it were a person. In this manner, the two grains representing the lovers draw together, when this is done to cause a love-spell, and afterwards the wizard throws the grains into the fire.

If the king desired to learn of the outcome of some war, or battle, or some other event, they placed the grains as usual, naming the captains [in charge of the forces] and saying certain words. The grains then had a great fight, some against others, until the conquered[1] were driven out of the vessel, and then the wizard told the outcome as if he had seen it. At other times, instead of the grains of maize, they placed in the vessel some small tapers of wax [in the vessel], and, without setting fire to it, by their flame the wizard makes manifest what he is endeavouring [to find out].[2]

And they say that this method is of greater efficacy than that of the grains of maize. They are so much given up to this fraud that the witches even bring for sale to the married men in the market places many charms [which they have compounded] and certain simples, such as herbs for goodwill and for forgetfulness. In this connexion, I shall relate a strange event which happened in the year . . . .[3] in order that the priests may take care to extirpate these enchantments, which last to this day.[4]

The Inga Sinchi Roca caused a general punishment of all the wizards, and kept alive only those who foretold the outcome of wars and made known to him secret events. He consulted these about the king of Andaguáilas, of whom he had grave suspicions, and,

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[1] The text of J. has *venidos*; this must be a misprint for *vencidos*.—M.

[2] The Spanish, which is very obscure and ambiguous here, says :—*Otras veces, en lugar de los granos, ponian en el tiesto unas candelillas de sebo, y sin darle fuego, por la blama dellos, hace el hechicero demostración de lo que pretende; . . . .*—M.

[3] Blank in text.—J.

[4] The event is lacking.—J.

after they had held their ceremonies, they replied to him that the people of Andaguáilas were in revolt, and that, therefore, it was well for him to make war upon them, and thereby to oblige them to be in subjection to him, because the omens foretold good success in battle with victory at the end. On this account the Inga sent to have his troops made ready, and he assembled a great army, provided with arms and supplies, and he marched it with a general high in his esteem toward Andaguáilas. He sent his spies ahead, and these said that the reason why the people of that valley were discontented was not so much the fact that they were in subjection as that it was the Ingas who had put them in subjection, for their idols told them that they did not owe obedience as they were not legitimate Lords. When this was understood by Sinchi Roca, he sent his general with orders to make a halt at the spot where a certain chasqui should overtake him, and not to go beyond there until he had new orders [from the Inga]. He then sent off messengers to the Lord of Andaguáilas to tell him how much he was astonished that he should break the faith which his ancestors had kept with the Ingas [merely] on account of the replies of false gods. [The Inga ordered him] to acknowledge as supreme deities the Sun and the Moon, and to observe how true it was that he was descended from them [and that his family] were the true Lords of the world. [And the Inga advised him] not to give occasion for the spilling of blood, since all the loss would fall upon him as the disturber of the peace, and [the Inga said] that if he would obey him, he would be forgiven for the past. The Lord of Andaguáilas replied that he already had his men in readiness and his expenditures made, so that he could not do less than resist whomever might wish to take away his liberty.

Seeing his resolution, the Inga commanded his general

to march little by little [toward Andaguáilas], because he himself wished to follow him with additional troops. Thus it was done. The two armies arrived within sight of one another on the heights of Andaguáilas, one league outside the town. The Chancas,[1] for thus the people of Andaguáilas called themselves, were many, and they were in their own land, and they gave not a little apprehension to the Inga's men. But he, like an astute man, told his followers how he had had while sleeping a visitation from his father, the Sun, in which he had commanded him to give battle and had assured them the victory [to ensure], which he gave him three golden lances and five crystal stones with a very beautiful sling. The soldiers were much encouraged. The armies sounded the attack on their trumpets and drums, and the amautas say that the noise was so great that the earth appeared to tremble. The Inga placed himself above the trenches and discharged his three lances. Then he placed a crystal in his sling and cast it with vigor at his enemies. And then his soldiers did the same, so that a battle was fought which was very bloody on both sides, and which lasted a long time without its being known which side had the better of it. The dead on both sides were so numerous that they were a hindrance to the living. Seeing the resistance of his foes, the Inga made use of a notable stratagem. He decided to make a retreat in good order when night came again, for which the darkness gave an opportunity, and he left, on one side, a good body of soldiers in ambush. The people of Andaguáilas, seeing this retreat, and thinking that their enemies were fleeing, came, in disorder, in pursuit of them. The Inga turned upon them, and, as he found them in disorder, he killed many of their vanguard, and at this moment the others came

[1] *Canchas* in the original.—J.

out of the ambush and, coming up in the rear, they set to killing men and taking prisoners without number. The Inga Sinchi Roca did many deeds of valor, and the enemy said that his face shone like the sun. Many captains and one of the Lords of Andaguáilas were taken prisoner in this battle and the other Lord was killed.[1]

CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE INGA SINCHI ROCA ENTERED CUZCO TRIUMPHANT, AND OF HIS DEATH.

THE Inga rested in Andaguáilas many days, and at this time he ordered that many sepulchres be built, in which were interred the bodies of those who had been slain in the battle, and he took especial care about this matter on account of the plague which had been caused by the decaying of bodies in former years. He ordered many sacrifices to Illatici and to his father, the Sun. He sent announcements to all the governors of the kingdom relating the victory which he had won over the rebels, and after having distributed the spoils among his soldiers, and after having warned the chiefs of the provinces to be in Cuzco in order that they might see in the triumph of his entry the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked, he arranged the entry in this way:

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[1] The only point calling for special mention here is the fact that Montesinos has got Sinchi Roca, the first really historic Inca, all mixed up with Roca or Rocca, the fifth really historic Inca. It is to the latter (who flourished about 1325) that the conquest of Antahuailas really belongs. Inca Rocca and his successor (Yahuar Huacac) mark the end of the early Inca period and usher in the great period of the later Incas.

Photo by Max Vargas, Arequipa.

LATE INCAIC MASONRY AT PISAC NEAR CUZCO.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth, 1920.

The common people were to come first, crying in loud voices, " May so excellent a king live many years ! " Following them, were to come the trumpets and drums, which were not to cease sounding except to let the voices of the people be heard, who, after the manner of criers, were to say the above words. After these, came two thousand soldiers drawn up in war-formation, with their captains and the insignia of their office. They [the officers] were elaborately adorned ; on their heads they wore very elaborate head-dresses and medals, with many plumes of various colours, and with great plates of gold upon their breasts and shoulders ; the men wore silver ones which they got as spoils from the conquered. In the midst, at intervals, they bore six drums in human form, made of the skins of the [hostile] caciques and captains who had distinguished themselves in the battle. Their skins were peeled off while they were yet alive, and, filled with air, they represented their owners in a very lifelike fashion [and the victors] played upon their bellies with sticks out of contempt. Last of these, came the drum made from the Lord of Andaguáilas, whom they killed in the battle. To the sound of these drums marched four thousand more soldiers. Behind them were many captive caciques and captains. They were followed by still more soldiers, and then came six more drums like the first, and in the rear of the captives, came the [other] Lord of Andaguáilas whom they took prisoner in battle. He came naked, with his hands tied behind him, like the other captives, but he was placed on an unadorned litter, so that he might be ignominiously seen by all. Around his litter were six drums made of his relatives, with which sound was made. Next, came a troop of criers who ceaselessly told how the king treated those who rebelled against him, and others told of the actions of the people of Andaguáilas ; and then the trumpets and drums made

a great noise and clamour, which caused horror and fear (in the hearers). Following this spectacle, came three thousand orejones, richly dressed, and adorned with a diversity of plumes. These kept singing the *huali* (*huaylli*), a song of victory relating the events of the battle, the spirit and valour of the conquering king. Behind them, came five hundred maidens, the daughters of important Lords, very well dressed, with garlands of flowers upon their heads, with branches in their hands and small bells on their legs, singing and dancing in measure [in honour of] the prowess of the Inga. These were followed by many principal Lords, who went before the litter of the Inga, some picking up stones and bits of straw from the pathway, and others scattering flowers.

After this, came Inga Sinchi Roca, with great majesty and pomp, on a litter of fine gold, and the pedestal on which he was seated and on which his feet rested (was also) of gold, richly worked with divers figures. On either hand walked two very important Lords, who kept being replaced, who bore two sunshades of very finely prepared feathers which the people of the Andes [1] bring to the Inga as tribute. The [parasols] and shafts were garnished with small leaves of very fine gold and with emeralds. These parasols were used as a canopy, and they are called, in the general language (of Peru), *achihua*. In his right hand, the Inga bore a golden spear-thrower, and, in his left, one of the spears which he pretended were given him by the Sun. On his head, he wore the fringe *mascapaicha*, of very fine red wool, which encircled his forehead and hung from a garland of richly worked gold. Two hundred Lords bore the

[1] It is possible that the "*los Andes*" here mentioned is the province of that name in what is now north-western Argentina, a region abounding in rhea birds, from which the feathers in question might have been got.—M.

litter, serving in turns by groups of eight. Following these, came some men of the royal caste and some *pallas*, very much adorned and borne on litters. At the end came thirty Lords of the Inga's family and of his Council, also on litters. The quipo-camayos and amautas whom the author of the work which have cited[1] examined say that there were so many Indians who took part in this triumph that covered all the heights and plains around the city of Cuzco, and that they proclaimed in loud voices the valour of the conqueror and the treason of the vanquished.

With all these people accompanying him, the Inga arrived at the city of Cuzco and made a complete circuit around it. And, arriving at the square of Coricancha, he commanded that the hearts be torn from the captives and that they be burnt and the ashes scattered to the winds. Then he entered the temple, and, prostrating himself upon the ground, he said, in a loud voice, a prayer to the Creator of all things, which I will omit here on account of its prolixity. When it was finished, the sacrifices were burnt outside the temple, where they always had an altar dedicated to this purpose, and (the ceremonies) lasted ten days continuously.

Within a few days, came the news that, by way of the [country of] the Chiriguanais, a large army of soldiers was entering, and that, without order or plan, they were coming in great troops from the Collao.[2] He [the Inga] summoned all his troops and gathered a great army, and in a short while he armed it so as to set forth to meet the foe, who, like animals, were coming in confusion. Sinchi Roca was already old, and, although courage was not lacking in him, the spirit of his life came to an end, and he died at the age of ninety, having

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[1] In the note on page 1.—J.

[2] *Callao* in the text.—J.

reigned . . . .[1] years. He left as his heir Yahuar Huacac,[2] who succeeded him. Sinchi Roca had by his wife, Mama Micai, besides the heir, three other sons, who were Mayta Capac, Human Tarsi and Viraquira, from whom descends the ayllu of Vitaquiras.

Yahuar Huacac, the sixth Inga, was very quiet and peaceful and very cautious, and so he always strove to put an end to all the disturbances in his kingdom. He always had bad eyes, and they were so red that, by exaggeration, the Indians said that he wept blood, and for this reason they called him Yahuar Huacac, his real name being Mayta Yupanqui. He took great interest in religion, and so, after a great victory which he had over the Chancas, he commanded, under grave penalties, that Huira Cocha should be esteemed as universal Lord of all things, and he set aside *chacras* for the Sun, Moon, Thunder and Lightning and for the other idols. For Huira Cocha he set aside nothing, giving as his reason that the Creator of all things needed nothing. He [the Inga] married Mama Chuqui Checlla Illpay,[3] and had by her six sons. The first was Huira Cocha; the second, Paucar Yalli; the third, Pahuac Huallpa Mayta; the fourth, Marcayutu; the fifth, Tupac Paucar; and the sixth, Chima Roca, who vanquished the Chancas, and from him descend the Auca Aylli Panacas. Yahuar Huacac lived fifty years, having reigned . . . .[1], and he left as his heir Huira Cocha, the seventh Inga, and very valiant, as we shall see.

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[1] Blank in text.—J. [2] *La Guarguacac* in text.—J.
[3] *Cochegmala y Iupay* in the text.—J.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE TIME IN WHICH INGA HUIRA COCHA BEGAN TO REIGN, AND OF HIS DEEDS AND ACHIEVEMENTS.

HUIRA COCHA was the Inga of the greatest valour of any. At once valiant and vigorous, he undertook arduous things, and in all he had good success. Among the Indians, he was held to be more than a man, and so they called him Huira Cocha, the name of the Creator of all things. His own name was Tupac Yupanqui. And the time of his reign was that of the sixth sun, the seventh since the Deluge having just begun, and this, according to the reckoning which I was able to verify, was . . . .,[1] before Columbus discovered the Indies. He began to reign at the age of thirty years.

A few days after he had taken possession of the kingdom, two relatives of his came to him from Chile; they were the sons of his sister and of his first cousin, respectively, and were born in that kingdom. These women had married two important nobles of Yahuar Huacac, his father, who had been with the troops of warriors who had entered [the kingdom from the south] in the time of his grandfather, Sinchi Roca. He [Sinchi Roca] gave them battle and had taken the Lords prisoner, and they had remained in Cuzco until the time of Yahuar Huacac, and, as he was peaceful and as they showed themselves humble, he [Yahuar Huacac] married one to his daughter and the other to his niece, and he sent them to Chile, and they treated their wives with much affection, and had sons by them. And, when it was known that Yahuar Huacac was dead and that Huira

[1] Blank in text.—J.

Cocha had succeeded to the kingdom, the fathers sent their sons (to Cuzco) in order that they might see and know their uncle. News reached Huira Cocha that they were coming to see him with a large following. He sent [officials] to the Collao to receive them as they would his own person. The youths were carried to Cuzco on litters of gold and with royal splendour, and to all their followers very rich presents were given. Two days' journey from Cuzco all the councillors of the king came out to meet them, and, in this two days' journey they spent six days, travelling but half a league each day.

Huira Cocha received them in his palace with great affection. He commanded that they be arrayed in the fashion of the Ingas, and after great fasts and other ceremonies, he ordered that their ears be bored. Then they held many feasts. The Chilians were greatly gratified by this, and they besought their uncle to come and visit the kingdom of Chile, on account of the great desire which all its people had of seeing and knowing him and of enjoying his counsels and presence. He promised to do this the next year. They took leave of the Inga, returning to their own land with many Inga orejones who wished to accompany them, and with six of the members of the [Inga's] Council, who were to instruct the people in orderly government. Some *pallas* and other women went with them. They took many vessels of gold, and great numbers of the sheep of the country.[1]

They arrived in Chile with this suite and with great pomp. They found great revolts and dissensions among the Lords prevailing in the country. Some had withdrawn inland and from there were trying to stir up the vassals of the Inga's nephews, trying to draw them away from their obedience to him, suspecting that no profit would come to them from [the youths] having gone to

[1] Llamas.—M.

see their uncle and that their purpose had been to put them all under the dominion of the Inga. And so they tried to assemble and acquire men of the opinion in order to preserve their intentions. The nephews of the Inga, animated with the courage of their uncle, after having taken many counsels, determined to nip this sedition in the bud, and with all speed they assembled a numerous army. In order to justify their cause, they sent ambassadors to the rebels, requiring them to come to terms of peace. They would not hear the embassy, and they killed some of the ambassadors who were not able to flee. The nephews of the Inga went in search of their enemies with their army. Within a year they subjected them, killing some and taking others prisoner. They advised their uncle of the event, and the Inga determined to go there with a powerful army.

The army having been made ready, Huira Cocha ordered many officials to go ahead in order to open up a highway from Charcas to Chile by way of the Chiriguanas, for there already was one from Cuzco to Charcas. And this prince afterwards followed this road from Chile as far as the Straits, grading very high mountains, and when, on account of the roughness of the country, it was not possible to grade, they built great stairways cut in the rock, placing *tambos* every three leagues where there were serving people who provided passengers with whatever was necessary. To-day, these works are almost destroyed, so that one sees only vestiges of them.[1] The Inga arrived in Chile, and all the more important Lords gave him their obedience. He received them with great affection, but remained very vigilant and cautious, because he knew them to have haughty intentions. He gave them

[1] At the end of the 16th century there were still many *tambos* standing, and two roads from Charcas to the frontiers of Chile were in use.—J.

many presents, with which he gained their goodwill. He was two years in Chile. He left his nephews obedient and quiet. He ordered them always to have the warlike and uneasy vassals at their court, and, on some good occasion, to take away their lives. With this, he returned to Cuzco. He took with him the sons of the Lords, as hostages for the security of the pact, and to learn the general language which his father had ordered to be established in all his realms. He also took with him more than two thousand Chilian soldiers, chosen in those provinces, for the conquest which he hoped to make from Chachapoyas northwards through the mountains.

He remained in Cuzco many days, making ready many things and soldiers, in order to follow out his plan of conquering the province of Quito, because, although [the people of that province] had acknowledged the Peruvian kings for some time and had received their governors, on account of former events which we have related, they knew none [of the Peruvian kings] and lived in great confusion. At this time, in that province of Quito, there were great earthquakes and great eruptions of two volcanos, which destroyed many villages. One of them is that which faces the Panzaleo, five leagues from the city of San Francisco de Quito ; the other is that which is seen from the heights of Oyumbicho. The natives rebelled when they saw these marvels ; the wizards consulted the Demon. He replied that they were evil omens of what was to come to them from foreign people who would take away their liberty. They all lived in great sadness, waiting for what was to happen. They did not cease to have among themselves bloody wars, without taking heed of the fact that they were killing off one another, until they learned that Inga Huira Cocha was subjecting and conquering the land and that he had arrived at the province of the Paltas, which is now near Loja, I say, in their dominions.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HOW INGA HUIRA COCHA SET FORTH FROM CUZCO TO THE CONQUEST OF THE CHACHAPOYAS AND OF THE PALTAS.

THE Inga had already assembled a great many soldiers, and, as he was on the point of setting out from Cuzco, news came to him that his wife, Mama Runtu Cay had given birth to a son. The Inga was greatly delighted, because he desired one. He suspended the activities which he had in hand. He went to see the prince, and held him in his arms a very long while, forgetting himself. He returned suddenly, as if ashamed of employing himself with tenderness at a time when he had undertaken wars. He commanded that the child should receive the name Tupac Yupanqui, which was his own, and then he returned to give orders in his interest.

Huira Cocha set forth from Cuzco with more than thirty thousand soldiers. He arrived without hindrance at [the land of] the Paltas. He gave orders that many families of these people should be transplanted [to some place where they would be] among the most loyal vassals of his kingdom, and yet be in an environment as much as possible like their own. He sent some of them to Cuzco, some to the Collao, and others to Chachapoyas, Xauxa, Andaguáilas, and Cotamba. Some survive to this day and are called *mitimaes*. And, from among the said regions, he also transplanted other families into this province (of the Paltas), because, said the Inga, a people diverse in its make-up would not arm itself against the Sovereign. While he was thus occupied, the Inga had news through his spies that the Cañares, who are now the people of the city of Cuenca, were making ready to resist him, and that they had elected as chief a Lord

called Dumma, and that this man had convoked the Lords of Macas, Quizna and Pumallacta. The Inga hastened to go against them before their preparations should increase. Haste did not suffice, because the enemy had taken the requisite passes, some of them dangerous. They resisted the Inga many months, and they had many encounters with him, and in one they obliged him to withdraw to the (country of) the Paltas with a loss of many soldiers and of the greater part of his luggage train. His enemies came in pursuit as far as the place where is now the city of Cuenca. From there they sent messengers to the Paltas [to tell them] then that they would have a good chance to avenge themselves on the Inga, for he had but a few men, and they could either kill them or drive them from their province. The Paltas heard this message in confusion; they consulted the wizards as to what they should do. The [wizards] replied that the Inga was a very fortunate man, and that no one was destined to prevail against him. They took this advice, and informed the Inga of what the Cañares were plotting. He thanked them, and showed them favours.

For the sake of entire security, the Inga commanded that a fort be built while the troops he had sent for to Chile and to the Chiriguanas, on account of their warlike nature, were coming to him. It was erected with all speed. The Cañares, seeing how the Inga was taking up his residence [among them] little by little, sent him messengers and yielded themselves on condition that their past errors be pardoned. There was a consultation about this, because it was said that the Cañares were fickle men of little steadfastness. It was determined that the former governor [of the Cañares] should flatter the Lords and should ask them for their sons as hostages. They received him with great rejoicing. Dumma and the others came to prostrate themselves before the

Inga, acknowledging him to be the son of the Sun. He [Dumma] pledged fidelity, and, as hostages, gave a son and a daughter to the Inga; the other Lords gave their sons. This done, Dumma set forth to his province, and, in a few days, he built a palace in which to lodge the king, and near a river they built many other houses, and still others for the reception of the army, for the soldiers quartered in some large *galpones*.[1] All this was already done when the Inga came to see this province of the Cañares, where he was received with great feasts. He remained there a little more than a year, and having got together many supplies, and the troops from Chile, the Chiriguanas and Cuzco having arrived, he made ready to set out for Quito.

The Inga left Cuenca, which is where the Cañares built the palace and houses on the shore of a river, with the same solemnity with which he had entered it, so that in the first six leagues he spent ten or twelve days. [Some of] the Cañares went ahead, preparing resting-places for him in the fields with garlands of flowers, dancing and playing on musical instruments. Among those who came to give him their obedience during the time that he was in this province were the Indians who then lived on the nearer side of the Guayaquil river. They asked for his help in repressing the insolence of the people who lived on the other side of the river, and the Inga gave them many presents and also a captain and some good soldiers in order that, while he himself went around [by land] he [the captain] might try to repress them. The people of the river, learning this, built forts and placed guards in balsas[2] on the river in order to offer resistance, the outcome of which we shall see.

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[1] This is a word from the West Indies. It means a large dormitory for soldiers, slaves or workmen.—M.

[2] A balsa is a rather crude scow-shaped raft made of dried reeds tied up in bundles and lashed together. They are not a high type of vessel, but they were the ones used on this coast at that time.—M.

When the [army of] the Inga arrived near the province of the Purues or Perues, Puruguaes or Peruguaes, it was resisted. He sent messengers to the people. They killed them. He came to blows with them. He conquered them and had many families transplanted, as was his wont, because, when Manco Cozque,[1] the eighty-second king, favoured this portion of the barbarians who entered [the land] by way of Tierra Firme from the Isles of Barlovento, they gave him their obedience as a token of gratitude, and afterwards they rose in rebellion on account of new developments in the Peruvian kingdom. But the chief reason [for the revolt] say the amautas, was the fact that they had not been transferred, and so the Inga was moved to do it as soon as he conquered them.

The people of Quito were [suffering] from their fear of the earthquakes which had happened a little while before. They learned of the coming of the Inga. They gathered many troops together. They held a council, and in it they determined that, since the Inga had vanquished the Paltas, Cañares and the rest, and since they were so warlike, they would send him ambassadors who should give him obedience in the name of these provinces. So they did, and the Llactacungas[2] did the likewise, as did also the Sichos and the Hampatos. The Inga received them with great affection and loaded them with gifts. He replied to the Lords that soon he would be in their provinces to see them and to subject them [to his rule]. He arranged, then, his journey, and, six leagues from Quito, his scouts [whom he always sent ahead, although it was in a time of peace] informed him that two leagues from there an army of many men was drawn up. The Inga feared that this was no mere ambuscade. He sent men out to reconnoitre the land,

[1] In Chapter xv. he is called *Toco Cozque*.—J.

[2] *Atarungas* in text.—J.

and it was found that the Lords of those provinces had come out to receive the Inga with all those troops. He was greatly gratified. He received the Lords in a very friendly spirit. He entered the city, and was much pleased to see and enjoy its good climate, and he decided to make it like Cuzco in everything.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF WHAT INGA HUIRA COCHA DID IN QUITO, AND HOW HE SENT TROOPS TO THE CONQUEST OF THE COFANES.

THE Inga, having observed the good location of the city of Quito and the excellent climate of its neighbourhood, determined to establish his residence there. He gave orders that the palace be rebuilt for his occupancy; he commanded that houses be erected for the soldiery; he gave orders that from all the provinces, from even so far away as the Puruguáes, people should come to settle in the city; he divided it into the wards of Hanansuyo and Urinsuyo. He gave names to the peaks round about: That one the East he called Anachuarqui; that on the West, Huanacauri; that in the South, Yahuirac;[1] and that on the North, Carmenga.[2] And in everything he tried to make it like the city of Cuzco.

While he was there, they gave him information about a very warlike people who wore decent clothes and who lived on the other side of the mountain range which runs from Santa Marta to the Straight of Magellan. He desired to subject them [to his rule], and, in order first to learn about them, he sent six captains with sufficient troops with orders to enter [that country]

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[1] *La Huirac* in original.—J. [2] *Cayminga* in original.—J.

by way of the Cofanes, whom to-day we call the Quijos, or by way of la Canela. They saw many peoples who lived in the forests along the shores of mighty rivers; their dress was nakedness, without other covering than their hair, which serves them as a garment. These soldiers began an action, and they were lost, and some of them came out [of the forests] at Cuzco, where they related to the Inga what they had seen, and how they had sustained themselves for a long time on the fruits of the forests, and how there were many different peoples among the forests, and that while they [the soldiers] were wandering about lost, the people [of the forest] took them to Cuzco, for there was full information concerning it in the forest-country. [And they also said] that nothing which had happened to them was more toilsome than a four days' journey [which they had made] through a region where there were so many tigers that it was necessary to make couches [barbacoas] in the trees in order to sleep, and that even there they were not safe. The Indians [of this region] came to Cuzco at the end of a year, and there they found Huira Cocha[1] who, dismayed by their account, gave orders that these Indians should be given presents, and that they should return by the way they had come, following their own tracks, and that two hundred [of his] valiant Indians should go with them and that they should carry their supplies with them. Thus it was done, and in a month they set out for la Tacunga, and the roughness [of the country] and the many rivers appear to be a myth. But in the year 15..., while secretary Diego Xuarez was going through those provinces asking for a donative, [he learned] in the village of Mulahalo, while talking of

[1] Nevertheless, according to Montesinos himself, this Inga did not return to the capital of his empire till more than two years later.—J. It may be that he went to Cuzco for a short while during that period.—M. It is more likely that Montesinos meant to write *Quito*, not *Cuzco*.—M.

this matter with a curaca[1] called D. Gaspar Nipati, that there were still alive some of those who came back from that expedition by command of Huaina Capac, grandson of this Inga Huira Cocha, and that there was a very short road [from that region] to Cuzco.[2]

After he had despached those six captains, Inga Huira Cocha made ready a powerful army and went to the province of the Chonos, who are the people of Guayaquil. He went with an easy mind, although the way was very rough, because in the sacrifices which he commanded to be held before this journey, he had very good auguries and replies in the entrails of the

[1] *Cura* in original.—J.

[2] If it is true (and it cannot fail to be) what Toribio de Ortiguera affirms in his *Noticias y relación de Quito y del rio de las Amazonas*, to the effect that, in December, 1569, there was still living an Indian woman called Doña Isabel Guachay who had taken part in the expedition of Huaina Capac to the Cofanes, the following details given by Ortiguera (are very interesting) :—

" They entered by way of Chapi (in Pimampiro) sixteen leagues north-east of Quito [and reached] the provinces of Iques and Atun-Ique, which border upon one another. They opened up the road as they went so as to have a path through the forest. In six days, they arrived at a valley where there were many well-disposed Indians who wear the hair on the top of the head clipped short while that before and behind is very long. Their clothes are mantles knotted upon the shoulder, after the manner of gypsies, and short, full breeches. Their land is flat and hot, having much maize and cotton, yucas, sweet potatos, squashes, and many turkeys and ducks. The men wear great plates of gold like shields, and the women many golden jewels. They use slings. Huaina Capac tried to find out by bartering what there was in the land and to what product of his own land they were most attached, but they did not show themselves to be taken with anything save a sort of cutting axe and salt, which they esteemed highly, and they gave gold by the load for it, and they gave mines of gold to Huaina Capac in which they began to dig with sticks, because there were no tools at that time, and they got out much gold like squash-seeds. In that valley, there was a river, the banks of which were populated by a large number of Indians and which they navigated in canoes. And in that valley Huaina Capac caused to be built some houses with [stone] walls, where he remained some days, and held his camp. And many Lords and caciques of the land came to see him, and to acknowledge him as Sovereign, on account of the fame which he enjoyed through his great deeds and valour. Of these, he took thirty Indians and eight caciques to Quito, and from there he sent them to Cuzco, in order that they might learn the language and that he might hold them safely so they could not flee. And at this time, the Spaniards came to the land, and Huaina Capac died of small-pox before the Spaniards could see him, because of which they never went to see this region [in the forests], nor have they been to discover it."—J.

sheep and ewes which he ordered sacrificed. He went by way of the villages of Calacali and Pululagua, and the traces of the roads which he then built, are to be seen to-day, and cause wonder. On account of various encounters with the barbarians along the road, he delayed some months, because of the resistance which they offered him and of fact that they fortified themselves in some *pucaraes* which there were along the road. While the Inga was in considerable straits on account of the many hardships caused him by the difficult roads and by the bad treatment he received from the natives, auxilliaries came to him from la Tacunga, and they brought many supplies with them. He got as far as a village called Vaua [Baba], and there he had news that a great number of troops were lying in wait to give him battle. He landed with his army,[1] and arrived at a province which is now called Guayaquil el Viejo, and he saw that there was a great number of balsas in the river, and that he had no remedy against them.

He undertook a very difficult thing, namely, to build a bridge of osier cables. They were made ready, and were very large cables. But, as the river was broad, though soundable, his toil had no effect, especially on account of the tides which prevail. There were other plans, after that of the bridge vanished; that which was carried out was to build balsas in which his men could go out to skirmish with the enemy, and his soldiers having become dextrous in their management, he gave battle to the foe. It lasted many days, on some the river favoured one side, on others the other. The critical moments being known to be more severe on account of the use of naval warfare, Huira Cocha commanded his captains to put an end to the battle and to attack the enemy on all sides. While they [the Inga's men] were making

[1] This implies that they were going down the Guayaquil river by canoe.—M.

ready for the next day, there were many dissensions among the enemies of the Inga, and the principal chief sent messengers to him to offer his allegiance and that of his district. The others, seeing this, went off to their villages. The Inga disembarked without hindrance on the opposite shore, where the city of Guayaquil now is, he granted many favours to the chief who had surrendered and to his district, and, by their aid, he conquered all the lands of the Chonos, who are the people of Guayaquil.

He was there a year, and in this time he had news of the island of Puná, and he heard how its inhabitants were very warlike. He pondered upon the perils of the journey and of the war, which would have to be waged by sea, and, finding everything difficult, he called together the principal Lords of the Chonos. He held various conversations with them, the chief subject of discussion being the state of means of their dealings with the people of Puná, which was disclosed very accurately. All gave him to understand, when he touched upon this point, that they considered [the people of Puná] their enemies, and that there had been very bloody wars between them for a very long time. The Inga was delighted. He laid before them his plans. They encouraged it, and promised to aid him with great fidelity. Many balsas and good pilots were made ready. The army, which consisted of about twenty thousand persons, embarked. They arrived at the island. The islanders came forth to meet the Inga. Battle was joined. [At first] victory favoured them, on account of their skill as sailors, not on account of their strength as soldiers. The Inga ordered his general to show a firm front to the enemy, and one night he landed with part of his army on the island. He drew up his squadron by the shore of the sea, and, armed against fire, he ordered that the houses be set afire, and those who remained on land fled, while those at sea surrendered. When the

chief Lord was taken prisoner, the Inga treated him very well, and, in order to put him under obligations for the future, he took his [the chief's] daughter for a wife. The Inga gave him one of his sisters, accompanied by many pallas, so that the friendship of the people of the island was assured.

This victory caused so much fear in all the land, on account of the fact that the people of Puná were reputed to be valiant men, that all the people round about surrendered and sent messengers to the Inga as son of the Sun, especially the people of Puerto Viejo. It happened that the Inga sent ambassadors beforehand to the people of the Puerto, urging them to yield peacefully. They delayed their reply many days. They took council with the wizards, and they told them not to acknowledge the Inga as Lord. They decided to kill the messengers, who learned of it, and secretly departed. They gave an account of the matter to the Inga. He regretted it very much, and took steps to assemble a great number of troops for war. He got other information from two spies whom he captured, and, after having punished them, ordering that they should be cut open while alive and that two women should slowly wind up their intestines on a spindle, he commanded that his army be made ready. And, when the balsas and their pilots were on the point of departure, news reached the Inga that the Cañares had rebelled and had killed their governor and the soldiers of the garrison. The Inga did not know whether to go against the rebels or against the people of Puerto Viejo. He entered into consultation. Some said that if he left the rebels as they were, their neighbours would follow their example and rise up in revolt. Others said that the preparations were made for [the attack on] Puerto [Viejo], and that then it would be easy, after its inhabitants were subjected, to turn back to the Cañares.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HOW INGA HUIRA COCHA RETURNED TO THE PROVINCE OF THE CAÑARES AND CONQUERED IT; AND OF THE REASON WHY THAT PROVINCE IS CALLED TUMIPAMPA.

THE consultations as to whether it was best for the Inga to go first to Puerto Viejo or to return to the Cañares lasted a long time. Finally the first opinion prevailed. While the Inga was firm in this determination [the forces of the Inga] arrived at the Puerto, where there were eight large balsas with many [smaller] balsas on them. Although they appeared to him but a small body of men, nevertheless, suspecting some stratagem, the Inga ordered his captains to proceed in good order to the shore and not to let anyone disembark. The men in the balsas drew near; one of them jumped overboard and swam [ashore], telling the soldiers that he had come in peace. They told the Inga of it. He gave leave for [some of] them to be allowed to land. The ambassadors did so. They arrived before the Inga, and, prostrate, asked his pardon for not having obeyed him before, giving as an excuse that the wizards were to blame. They gave him obedience in the name of the Lords of the Puerto. The Inga received them in peace, and he sent governors who, without much resistance, conquered all those provinces. On an island near this province a governor built a sumptuous temple, recognizing the South Sea as a great deity. The island is called to-day la Plata or Santa Clara.

It gave much pleasure to the Inga to have accomplished this, and so he sent ahead itinerant spies from the Chonos in order that, under cover of speaking with but little affection of the Inga, they should divulge the

battles which he had won in their provinces and in that of La Puná, and how all the other people of their sort were subject to him. The Inga then set off with his army along roads very difficult to travel on account of the trees, swamps and rivers; for the people of Puná led them to the port which to-day is called Vola in many balsas which the governors of Tumbes and Puerto Viejo sent, and thence they guided them through these places which were so bad that both they and the Inga lost their way, and no one knew where the road was because in places the path was obstructed by the continual rains, in other places by the thickets, and in the greater part by the forest. The Indians pretend here that while the Inga (and his men) were thus lost, they heard a voice which came out of a mountain, and which said: "Along this shore is the road, my son, along this shore." And, going in the direction whence came the voice, they found the road safe and firm and the trees cut down. So the wonder-struck people of Puná and of the Chonos held the Inga to be a god. At the end of these hardships, he arrived at the place where Cuenca now is, without being impeded by the many troops of the Cañares who came (to attack him) on the road at several points. This site of Cuenca was anciently called Tumipampa, which means "Plain of the Knife." *Tumi* is an instrument of copper, shaped like a cobbler's heel-knife, which is fastened upon a stick; *pampa* signifies plain. The reason why they gave it this name was that while the Inga was resting in this place from the long journey he had made with his warriors and with so many hardships, they saw on the mountains, near the army, great troops of enemies who, to the sound of many trumpets and other instruments, were coming to disturb them. The [Inga's men] were put in battle array and awaited for the combat. The Cañares held back two days; when these had passed, they attacked the Inga. He defended himself

valiantly, and without loosing one pace of ground. The Chonos and the Chiriguanais in the army distinguished themselves so much that, because of their valour, they [of the Inga's army] burst into the hostile squadrons and broke their formation, so that it was easy to leave them destroyed and vanquished. The dead were without number; the Indians say that the prisoners were more than eight thousand. The day after the victory, Inga Huira Cocha commanded [his men] to kill all [his enemies] by the knife, and he did not stop at this, but sought out all the old men and old women of the province and had their heads cut off. And, on this account, they called this place Tumipampa. And he commanded that all the youths and boys be transplanted to Cuzco where their descendants live, and they are mitimaes of Cuzco.

Then the Inga ordered his troops to assemble, and, all the chief Lords of all the provinces between Quito and the Paltas having arrived at the place where he commanded that the punishment be inflicted, he came forth on his golden litter with the maidens, daughters of those chiefs, before him, very well dressed, with palms in their hands, and singing his victories. While all were in deep silence, the king, stationed in a prominent place and standing on the litter, exhorted them [to maintain their] fidelity [to him], telling them that they had seen by experience that his father, the Sun, was aiding him in all his actions, and that thus he was able to achieve such marvellous victories; and [he told them] that he was going now to Cuzco to rest from his labours until the Almighty Creator should order something else. And [he urged them] to be faithful to their allegiance, promising punishment to rebels and holding out favours to the grateful. It was then published in his presence to those who did not hear it, and the Lords, prostrate upon the ground, promised to fulfill these orders.

And, instead of an oath, they plucked out the hair from their eyebrows and eyelashes and blew it upwards toward the sky; and the common people played their trumpets, drums and shell-trumpets, and, with great shouting, they brought this action to an end, and the king returned to his palace. He then commanded a review to be held; he found thirty-five thousand soldiers, and he distributed them in camps of suitable climates.

While [the Inga] was occupied in these matters, his son, Tupac Yupanqui, came to visit him; he was heir to his kingdoms and was much beloved by his father, the Inga, who therefore called him Tupac Yupanqui, after his own name. [The Inga] received him with great pleasure and equal majesty, and, in honour of his coming, great festivals and rejoicings were held. The Inga made ready to return to Cuzco. He made the journey by way of the Coast, and all the kings received him in peace, except the Chimos who lived where Trujillo now is. He had two very bloody battles with them, and they were more eager to flee than to obey the Inga. He established some garrisons and passed onward. He repaired the temple of Pachacamac, where he commanded great sacrifices of many sheep,[1] ingas of gold and silver is great number,[2] and many clothes of fine *cumbi*[3] to be held. He charged the priests, who were great wizards, to consult their oracles as to the good or evil fortunes of his son. After great fasts, the high priest said that Tupac Yupanqui and his son would reign happily and would conquer many kingdoms, but that after his grandson's reign, hitherto unseen people, white, bearded and very severe, would rule these realms. Huira Cocha was much saddened by this reply; this

[1] As llamas cannot live on the sea coast this is doubtful, unless, indeed, the animals were specially brought down from the highlands.—M.

[2] This may refer to the small images in metal and stone of men and women and animals which are frequently found in Inca sites.—M.

[3] Cotton.—M.

sadness, and the reason for it, were published among his people, causing great fear in the hearts of all. Once more he made great sacrifices in order to placate the mighty Pachacamac, and then, with all speed, he journeyed to Cuzco where, with an imagination plagued by the reply [of the oracle], his life came to an end, after he had reigned forty-five years. He had by his wife, Mama Runtu Cay, three sons: The first was Tupac Yupanqui who succeeded him; the second was called Inca Urcon; the third, Inga Maita,[1] from whom descend the Succe Panacas. He died seventy-five years old.[2]

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF TUPAC YUPANQUI, EIGHTH OF THE INGAS, AND HOW HIS SON, HUAINA CAPAC, SUCCEEDED HIM.

GREAT was the grief which the death of Huira Cocha caused all through his realms. They did him many honours, and wept for him more than six months. At the end of this period, the Lords of all the provinces gathered together at the coronation of Tupac Yupanqui, who reigned peacefully and finished conquering the Chimos by a notable stratagem. This was the way in which it was done: As in the time of his father, Huira Cocha [the Inga and his men] withdrew to the mountains, having formed an army (on the coast), and (the Chimos)

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[1] *Juaita*, in the original; *Inga Juanita* in the edition of Ternaux-Compans.—J. *Cf.* Montesinos, 1840, p. 212.—M.

[2] Montesinos, in Chapters XXIII—XXVI inclusive, identifies and confounds the deeds of Inca Viracocha with those of the Inca Pachacutec. He is of the school of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who makes the growth of the Inca empire ridiculously and impossibly rapid. The saner school, which portrays a slow, logical and reasonable growth is formed by Garcilasso, Cobo and Cieza, as well as by minor writers.

attacked those whom the Inga had left behind in their land, and they killed them, with the loss of many Chimos. When this was known by Tupac Yupanqui, as he was peace-loving by nature, he consulted [his councillors as to] the most gentle method of reducing the Chimos without battle, for he believed that a battle would be a very bloody one. After many consultations, he hit upon a plan. It took into consideration the fact that valleys [of the coast] were irrigated by water and rivers from the highlands, and that, without it, the Chimos could not get along. [He ordered that the] main channels should be cut and broken down at various places, so that the Chimos could not avail themselves of the smaller ditches, and so would surrender for ever. This was one of the best schemes which was proposed, and the Inga at once sent many labourers, accompanied by four thousand soldiers, and in a few days they diverted the river of the Chimos into some sandy wastes, which swallowed it entirely. The general in charge of the war, as soon as this was done, sent messengers to the Chimo, saying that the Inga, as son of the Sun, had dominion over the waters, and that he took them away, and would keep them away from the Chimos so long as they did not submit. The Chimo, seeing this, and perceiving that he could not go against the Inga, because his [the Inga's] soldiers had taken the passes, he resolved to be a tributary to him, and from that time he was a good vassal.

This Inga did other very good things, and, having lived fifty years, of which he reigned twenty, he died at Cuzco. He had by his wife, Coya Mama Ocllo, his sister, two sons : The first was Huaina Capac ; the second, Auqui Tupac Inga. They say of this Tupac Yupanqui that he was the first of the Ingas to marry his own sister. Huaina Capac payed great honour to his father and afterwards was crowned, and he was the ninth of the

Ingas. His real name was Inti Cussi Huallpa, and they called him Huaina Capac[1] because he was very well disposed, discreet and beautiful. The first thing which Huaina Capac did after his coronation was to take away [people] from the higher provinces and place them [on portions of the slopes of the] Andes, whence strange and strong people had been wont to descend, and he established very strong garrisons, especially in Vilcabamba, because his father had told him the reply which his grandfather, Huira Cocha, had received to the effect that he was to lose the power of the Ingas, and so he devoted all his time to fortifying his kingdom, as if there were avail against the divine will. He formed a great army, and took it as far as Chachapoyas. From there, by way of the Moyobamba river, he sent many men in balsas to spy out the land and note what people were there who might come thence to make war upon him. They sailed down the river; they found some Motilones Indians, and they passed on to the place where the river forms a great beach; many balsas and canoes were lost; when they landed, many Indians assailed them; they were humiliated by them, but they received no harm. Some stayed with these Indians, and others went back to where the Inga was, and gave him an account of what had happened and how there were many civilized people beyond the mountains. The Inga was delighted and proposed to go and conquer those provinces, and he began to discuss with his captains the methods they should use. He ceased, however, when news came that the Paltas had rebelled, and that they had killed the governors whom his father and grandfather had placed over them. He deeply regretted it. The Paltas, knowing that he was coming against them, sent twelve valiant soldiers with orders to spy

[1] Huaina Capac means "Excellent youth."—M.

upon the army of the Inga and to find out the order in which it was marching and to bring them news about it. With these went twelve others in order that, if they came in contact with the soldiers of the Inga, they might try to kill them. These men were brought, laden with firewood, to the [Inga's] army. They were recognized; they were tormented, and, when they had confessed the truth, their nostrils and ears were cut, one by one, and the eyes of some of them were plucked out, and, in this state, they were sent back to their own land. When the Paltas saw them, they feared the Inga greatly, for it seemed to them that he was aided by superhuman power, as well as on account of his former victories which they had learned through his spies [whom he had sent among them]. They tried to decide among themselves to return to their ancient obedience; but their opposed opinions and that of the malcontents prevailed, but it went ill with them, because, in two battles which Huaina Capac fought with them, he vanquished them and almost killed them all.

While he was there, he had news that the people on the other side of the Quispe river had rebelled and that a Lady named Quilago was ruling them. Huaina Capac, angered by the tumult of this people, set forth to that region with his army, and he arrived within sight of his enemies, who were fortified on the other bank of the river. There were many skirmishes, with burnings of bridges and many deaths on both sides. These encounters lasted, without either side getting the upper hand, for more than two years. Then the Inga gave his men a chance to recuperate, and he made a speech to them in order to animate their courage; and he asked them how men governed by a woman could curb their strength. And he was determined [he said] to fight the enemy hand to hand, because his father, the Sun, had promised him the victory, and as a token of it had given him

a sling with three crystal stones and a gilded spear with a thrower.[1] The soldiers were much comforted by this. And the amautas pretend, at this point, that the Sun warned him that the enemy had determined to let him cross the river and that then they would catch him in an ambush and would kill all his men. And [they say] that the Inga made a halt, and he let fly from his sling one crystal, which struck near the ambush in some tall grasses on the other side of the river, and it hit a great stone, which was broken, and much fire burst forth which consumed the grasses and the soldiers who were in concealment. Then his army crossed to the other shore of the river without opposition, and he conquered the enemy in a very sharp battle. He took the Lady Quilago prisoner. He showed her many attentions; he gave her rich presents; he asked her what her pleasure was. She put him off on the excuse that she was ill, and by saying that a slave was not worthy of such a lord. The Inga gave her her liberty, and the Lady returned to her palace, and she had built, in an inner part of her apartment, a deep well. The Inga and she corresponded by messages; his were sincere, and hers were full of duplicity, because, on the strength of the prevailing security, she intended to bring him to her house and drop him into the well. The Inga had news of this, and he tried to conduct himself with greater care. The Lady made certain of the hour of his coming to her palace. He went. She received him with signs of joy. They went hand in hand to the room where the snare was. The Inga seized the side of the doorway and, getting a firm foothold, he made the Lady stumble so that she fell into the well, which was the sepulture for her body. He did the same with the servant-women who were shouting. He took the chief men who were

[1] This is the third time that Montesinos tells us this story, with some changes in the details.—T.C.

going about alone on safe-conduct, and it was easy for the Inga to come out successfully from this difficulty, because of the precautions which the warning allowed him to take.[1]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HOW THE LORD OF CAYAMBE FORTIFIED HIMSELF WITH MANY TROOPS IN A LAKE CALLED YAGUARCOCHA, AND HOW THE INCA CONQUERED HIM.

SOME of the Lords who went to witness the aforementioned event, seeing that the Lady Quilago did not accomplish her purpose, retired, led by the Lord of Cayambe, and fortified themselves in a lake called Yaguarcocha. There were around it eight very large willow-trees. They built scaffoldings from one to the next, some high and some low, in such a way that they could contain more than two thousand persons. To some of the remaining soldiers they [the Lord of Cayambe] assigned [neighbouring] hillocks and eminences, and to a portion they gave a small knoll opposite the village. He called his troops together and assembled numberless Quillacingas, Atiris,[2] Pastos and people from other provinces. Huaina Capac did not neglect to go in search of his enemies before they could fortify themselves. He counted his men and found that he had more than one hundred thousand fighting-men. He marched through the provinces of Malchingui, Cochesqui and Cayambe, in which he inflicted great punishments

[1] The chief interest in this chapter lies in the passages which tell of the struggles between the Incas and the later Chimu people of the coast, whose civilisation was a further phase of the coast civilisation of earlier times.

[2] Natives of the valley of Atris.—J.

on all those whom he could catch. He arrived with his army within a league of the enemy. He learned the manner in which they were disposed. He gave them battle to the accompaniment of great noise from the drums, trumpets and *antaras*. It seemed to fill the neighbourhood. The enemy replied with the same and equal noise. Battle was joined; there were many dead on both sides, especially on that of the Inga, because, from the forts which were around the lake, the enemy not only received no injuries, but they reinforced their main body and greatly discouraged the Inga's forces on account of the fact that it did not seem that they were killing anyone, for the reason that the enemy threw their dead into the lake. The battle lasted three days. The Lord of Cayambe withdrew to the fortress at the lake and to the balsas which he had prepared upon it. Huaina Capac, seeing that it was impossible to fight him because he had no balsas, gave orders that forty thousand soldiers should establish themselves near the lake on the side close to the knoll to which (some of) the enemy had withdrawn and that they should fight with slings and missiles.

Also, at the same time, he gave orders that thirty thousand soldiers should fight on all sides against the remainder of the enemy, who were round about the lake in the forts or *pucaraes*, and the rest of his men he sent to the lake in the province of Octavalo to bring back many rushes or *totora*, or else balsas made of it. Huaina Capac was delayed many days in this matter. He vanquished those who were in the forts on the other side of the lake; he attacked with his (new) balsas those who were on the lake; they fought cruelly against one another. While the Inga was fighting against those in the canoes, those who were on the scaffoldings up in the trees were occupied with great orgies, and were singing and dancing with their hands tied, out of

contempt for Huaina Capac. After having fought the people in the balsas for a long time, the Inga's men prevailed, and they killed a large number of the enemy and sunk their balsas. The [Inga's men] came up with their balsas to the place where the trees were. The captains of the Inga fought with the men in the scaffolds, and the men in the balsas received many injuries. Those on the trees won. The Inga, seeing this, commanded that some helmets like mitres be made for his soldiers and that, defended by these from the stones and missiles of the enemy, they should cut down the trees with their axes of copper. The stones and darts of the men up in the trees had now given out. They fought only with lances [while] the trees were being cut down, which were only three, and they fell to the water with a great noise, doing much harm in falling to the balsas and soldiers of the Inga. Many of the captains were killed, which caused him great pain. Not one of the enemy escaped drowning or death by the knife, and the dead were so many that the lake was turned into blood, and for this reason they call it Yaguarcocha, which means Lake of Blood.

After winning this victory, Huaina Capac ordered that great sacrifices be held in honour of Illatici Yachachi Huira Cocha and of the Sun, his father. Then he gave orders for the pacification of the provinces, and on one day when they were celebrating with great festivals and rejoicings in the presence of the army, the Inga commanded that all the prisoners and surrendered persons who he had anywhere should be brought into his presence. They came, disturbed and fearful, with their hands tied behind their backs, for it seemed to them that they were called to have justice done upon them. As soon as they had arrived in the presence of the Inga, who was on his throne of gold, he told them that he granted them their lives and wished them for his friends. They were filled with wonder at hearing what they never

thought to hear. They threw themselves upon the ground and promised to be loyal, and, in witness of this, they sent for their women and children, who were hidden in the forests, so that the province of Carangue was populated. During the year the Inga spent there, he caused them to sow the fields, because the climate of Carangue seemed to him good and the place fertile, and he commanded that (a town) be founded, patterned upon Cuzco as a model, in order that he might establish his court there. He rebuilt a sumptuous temple to the Sun, his father, and for himself he erected a splendid palace.

He commanded, after the government had been set in order, that all the Lords should assemble. He charged them to be obedient to him ; he told them of the affection he bore them, and, in token of it, he told them that he wished to leave his son, Ataguallpa, two years old, in their charge in the palaces of Carangue. The real name of this prince was Huallpa Titu Inga Yupanqui ; they called him Ataguallpa after the nurse who gave him milk and who was from a village called Atau, near Cuzco, which, in Cuzco dialect means righteousness or strength ; and *huallpa* means kind or gentle. The Inga commanded the people to regard the child and serve him with due respect, as he himself was about to set forth for Cuzco. And [he told them that], in case Illatici decided to carry him to rest with his fathers, he left them this prince as Lord and king ; and [he urged them] to regard the child as parent of them all since he had been born in their land and had grown up among its people.

Then Huaina Capac set out for Cuzco with the necessary troops in his train, leaving the rest in the camps and with the governors of the provinces. He arrived in a short time at the province of the Chancas, who are the people of Andaguáilas ; he punished those who were guilty in a plot, and then went on to Cuzco, desirous

of seeing his son Huascar, whom he found to have attained twelve years of age. The real name of this prince was Inti Cussi Huallpa Yupanqui ; he was called Huascar after the nurse who gave him milk. All that is said of the name of this prince, as well as what is said about the great chain of gold and about other things, are imaginative ; the truth is what I have said. Huaina Capac was very well received in Cuzco ; many Lords of the Collao took part in his reception, and, before entering his palace, great sacrifices were held in the temple which lasted for many days and at which the king was present. He did not come out of the temple, and he pretended that he was resting with his father, the Sun, and was receiving many counsels from him.

At the end of some days, he came out from this seclusion. From that time onward, the mother of his son [a woman], called Coya Rahua Ocllo, who took part in his council as president, did not wish [him] to govern any longer, nor would she participate with him in the conjugal act, because it was a very ancient custom of the kings of Cuzco not to have intercourse with their legitimate wives after they had borne children, because they were sisters, or at least first cousins. Huaina Capac remained in Cuzco more than two years, reforming the abuses that had crept into the government during his absence, and also because the people of Chile sent their messengers to ask his pardon [for the anger shown by] his delay in coming to see them. They arrived with great presents, with four boys and as many girls, the children of his nephews, very beautiful, and the inheritors of the realms of their fathers, now dead. He welcomed the messengers, and, at their departure, gave them great jewels and presents of gold, and, as tutors for the boys, twenty-four old Ingas, with whom they were much pleased.

When this was done, he decided to go and visit the

Coast. He left the affairs of the government in Cuzco in good order, with his wife as president. The first temple which he visited was that of Pachacamac. He was there many days ; he offered great sacrifices, and he asked the high priest to secure replies about some matter of which he wished to know. The priest told him, after long vigils, that his fate would be happy, and that for the rest, he should ask nothing. Not very well pleased with this, he went to visit the Plains, and everywhere they received him with much pleasure, and the Chimo king made him great presents of gold and of garments of *cumbi* and of feathers which were paid in tribute by the Indians [beyond] the Andes. He arrived at Tumbez and there settled many differences which the chiefs had among themselves. While he was at Tumbez, the priests and wizards went to make sacrifices to the South Sea and to an idol which was on an island which the Spaniards later called Santa Elena. They said that, in the entrails of animals they had seen some prognostications which were anything but favourable. On this account, the Inga left Tumbez very sad and burdened with all sorts of apprehensions. He arrived at the province of Carangue where he found his son Atahuallpa already well-grown and of a very good disposition and lofty ideals. He was delighted with him. He set forth for Quito. He sent [men] to conquer the provinces of the Pastos and of the Quillacingas. Huan Auqui, brother of the Inga Huaina Capac, was made captain-general of the army. He was a very valiant man who, without any resistance, conquered the provinces as far as the place called Atiriz, which is where the city of Pasto now is, and he stayed there a year. While he was so happy there, news came from Huaina Capac and the order to leave that land well fortified and to come with the rest of the army to Quito, because news had been received from Tumbez that the

sea had thrown upon the shore some monstrous marine animals, bearded men who moved upon the sea in large houses.

And because this was the first time the Spaniards saw the kingdom of Peru, which is treated of in the Second Part of these *Memorias*, which is the Annals of the discovery of Piru, I shall speak of each year by itself, and I will tell of the Ingas who lived in the years. I leave for that place the other deeds of Huaina Capac, and one can see in the following Book the mysterious titles drawn from Holy Writ which give the Indies to the Catholic Kings.

THE END.

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LAWS OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

I. The object of this Society shall be to print, for distribution among the members, rare and valuable Voyages, Travels, Naval Expeditions, and other geographical records.

II. The Annual Subscription shall be One Guinea (for America, five dollars, U.S. currency), payable in advance on the 1st January.

III. Each member of the Society, having paid his Subscription, shall be entitled to a copy of every work produced by the Society, and to vote at the general meetings within the period subscribed for; and if he do not signify, before the close of the year, his wish to resign, he shall be considered as a member for the succeeding year.

IV. The management of the Society's affairs shall be vested in a Council consisting of twenty-two members, viz., a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and sixteen ordinary members, to be elected annually; but vacancies occurring between the general meetings shall be filled up by the Council.

V. A General Meeting of the Subscribers shall be held annually. The Secretary's Report on the condition and proceedings of the Society shall be then read, and the meeting shall proceed to elect the Council for the ensuing year.

VI. At each Annual Election, three of the old Council shall retire.

VII. The Council shall meet when necessary for the dispatch of business, three forming a quorum, including the Secretary; the Chairman having a casting vote.

VIII. Gentlemen preparing and editing works for the Society shall receive twenty-five copies of such works respectively.

LIST OF MEMBERS.—1920.*

Members are requested to inform the Hon. Secretary of any errors or alterations in this List.

1920 Abbot, Lieut.-Col. Fred W., 14 bis Rue du Calvaire, Saint Cloud (S. and O.).
1899 Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord, 83, Eaton Square, S.W.1
1847 Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen.
1913 Abraham, Lieut. H. C., Topographical Survey Office, Taiping, Perak, Fed. Malay States.
1895 Adelaide Public Library, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.
1847 Admiralty, The, Whitehall, S.W.1. [2 COPIES.]
1847 Advocates' Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
1847 All Souls College, Oxford.
1919 Allen, William Henry, Esq., Bromham House, Bromham, near Bedford.
1847 American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York, U.S.A.
1901 Andrews, Capt. F., R.N., H.M. Dockyard, Malta.
1906 Andrews, Michael C., Esq., 17, University Square, Belfast.
1919 Anstey, Miss L. M., 23, Cautley Avenue, Clapham Common, S.W.4.
1847 Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1.
1909 Armstrong, Col. B. H. O., C.M.G., R.E., 24, Montague Road, Richmond.
1847 Army and Navy Club, 36, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1919 Arnold, Arthur, Esq., Wickham, Hants.
1847 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1912 Aylward, R. M., Esq., 7a, Avenida Sur, No. 87, Guatemala.

1847 Bagram, John Ernest, Esq., 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
1920 Baker, G. H. Massy, Esq., Kerema, Gulf Division, Papua.
1909 Baldwin, Stanley, Esq., M.P., Astley Hall, nr. Stourport.
1899 Ball, John B., Esq., Ashburton Cottage, Putney Heath, S.W.15.
1918 Bannerman, David A., Esq., M.B.S., B.A., 6, Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, W.8.
1893 Barclay, Hugh Gurney, Esq., M.V.O., Colney Hall, Norwich.
1920 Barclay, W. S., Esq., 39, Bark Place, Bayswater, W.2.
1919 Barrett, V. W., Esq., 1, Raymond Buildings, Gray's Inn, W.C.1.
1919 Barry, Eugene S., Esq., Ayer, Mass., U.S.A.
1899 Bassett, M. René, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, Villa Louise, rue Denfert Rochereau, Algiers.
1920 Beasley, Harry T., Esq., Haddon Lodge, Shooter's Hill, S.E.18.
1913 Beaumont, Major, H., Rhoscolyn, Holyhead, N. Wales.
1904 Beetem, Charles Gilbert, Esq., 110, South Hanover Street, Carlisle, Pa., U.S.A.
1920 Bedford-Jones, H., Esq., Lakeport, California, U.S.A.
1899 Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Donegall Square North, Belfast.
1896 Belhaven and Stenton, Col. The Right Hon. the Lord, R.E., 41, Lennox Gardens, S.W.1. (*Vice-President.*)
1913 Bennett, Ira E., Esq., Editor *Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

* *Sent to press, September*, 1920.

1920 Benstead, W., Esq., Bedo Station, Par Andriba, Magunya, Madagascar.
1847 Berlin Geographical Society (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde), Wilhelmstrasse 23, Berlin, S.W.48.
1847 Berlin, the Royal Library of, Opernplatz, Berlin, W.
1847 Berlin University, Geographical Institute of, Georgenstrasse 34-36, Berlin, N.W.7.
1914 Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii Island.
1920 Bethell, Frank, Esq., c/o Messrs. The Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore, Straits Settlements.
1913 Bewsher, F. W., Esq., St. Paul's School, Kensington.
1920 Bickerton, F. H., Esq., Castle Malwood, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1911 Bingham, Professor Hiram, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
1847 Birmingham Old Library, The, Margaret Street, Birmingham.
1875 Birmingham Public Libraries (Reference Dept.), Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1910 Birmingham University Library.
1920 Black, G. J., Esq., Box 134 P.O., Gisborne, New Zealand.
1899 Board of Education, The Keeper, Science Library, Science Museum, South Kensington, S.W.7.
1847 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
1917 Bombay University Library, Bombay.
1920 Bone, H. Peters, Esq., 5, Hamilton Mansions, King's Gardens, Hove.
1847 Boston Athenæum Library, 10½, Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1847 Boston Public Library, Copley Square, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1912 Bourke, Hubert, Esq., Feltimores, Harlow, Essex.
1899 Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.
1894 Bower, Major-General Sir Hamilton, K.C.B., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W.1.
1912 Boyd-Richardson, Commander, S. B., R.N., Highfield Paddock, Niton-Undercliff, Isle of Wight.
1920 Brewster, A. B., Esq., Edengrove, Chelston, Torquay.
1919 Brickwood, Sir John, Portsmouth.
1893 Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion, Church Street, Brighton.
1890 British Guiana Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society, Georgetown, Demerara.
1847 British Museum, Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities.
1847 British Museum, Department of Printed Books.
1896 Brock, Henry G., Esq., 1612, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
1909 Brooke, Sir John Arthur, Bart., J.P., Fenay Hall, Huddersfield.
1920 Brook-Fox, Evelyn, Esq., Tokerwadi, P.O., Poona District, India.
1899 Brookline Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1899 Brooklyn Mercantile Library, 197, Montague Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
1899 Brown, Arthur William Whateley, Esq., Sharvells, Milford-on-Sea, Hants.
1920 Brown, Dr. C. J. Macmillan, Holmbank, Cashmere Hills, Christchurch, N.Z.
1916 Browne, Prof. Edward G., M.A., M.B., Firwood, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.
1920 Browne, Lieut.-Comdr. R. R. Gore, British Naval Mission to Poland, Warsaw, c/o Admiralty, S.W.1, I.D. Room 41.
1896 Buda Pesth, The Geographical Institute of the University of, Hungary.
1910 Buenos Aires, Biblioteca Nacional (c/o E. Terquem, 19, Rue Scribe, Paris).
1919 Burgess, Capt. Alfred, R.A.F., Morecroft, Manor Road, Twickenham.
1920 Busby, Alex., Esq., Martins Heron, Bracknell, Berks.

1920 Butler, G. Grey, Esq., Ewart Park, Wooler, Northumberland.
1914 Byers, Gerald, Esq., c/o Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, Shanghai.

1913 Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander Francis, R.N., Hatherop Castle, Fairford, Gloucestershire.
1903 California, University of, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
1847 Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
1911 Canada, Department of the Naval Service, Ottawa.
1847 Canada, The Parliament Library, Ottawa.
1896 Cardiff Public Library, Trinity Street, Cardiff.
1920 Cardinall, A. W., Esq., Springfield, The Weald, nr. Sevenoaks.
1847 Carlisle, Rosalind, Countess of, Castle Howard, York.
1847 Carlton Club Library, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1899 Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.
1920 Carton, Alfred T., Esq., 76, W. Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1914 Casserly, John Bernard, Esq., The Pacific Union Club, Corner Mason and California Streets, San Francisco, California, U.S.A.
1920 Cathro, E. A., Esq., Estancia "San Justo," Sola F.C.E.R., Argentina.
1910 Cattarns, Richard, Esq., Great Somerford, Wilts.
1899 Chambers, Rear-Admiral, Bertram Mordaunt, R.N., c/o Messrs. Cocks, Biddulph and Co., 43, Charing Cross, S.W.1.
1913 Charleston Library, Charleston, U.S.A.
1847 Cheetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester.
1910 Chicago, Geographical Society of, P.O. Box 223, Chicago.
1899 Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1899 Chicago University Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1896 Christ Church, Oxford.
1847 Christiania University Library, Christiania, Norway.
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1907 Clark, Arthur H., Esq., Caxton Buildings, Cleveland, Ohio.
1913 Clark, James Cooper, Esq., Ladyhill House, Elgin, N.B.
1913 Clarke, Sir Rupert, Bart., Clarke Buildings, Bourke Street, Melbourne.
1917 Clements, R. V., Esq., 3, Chapel Field North, Norwich.
1913 Coates, O. R., Esq., British Consulate-General, Shanghai.
1919 Coleman, H., Esq., 9, Cambridge Gate, N.W.1.
1847 Colonial Office, The, Downing Street, S.W.1.
1899 Columbia University, Library of, New York, U.S.A.
1918 Commonwealth Parliament Library, Melbourne.
1896 Conway, Sir William Martin, M.P., Allington Castle, Maidstone, Kent.
1903 Cooke, William Charles, Esq., Vailima, Bishopstown, Cork.
1919 Copenhagen University Library, Copenhagen.
1919 Cordier, Prof. Henri, 8 rue de Siam, Paris, xvi^e.
1847 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
1903 Corney, Bolton Glanvill, Esq., I.S.O., Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W.7.
1899 Corning, C. R., Esq., 36 Wall Street, New York.
1919 Court, Thomas H., Esq., De Aston Grammar School, Market Rasen, Lincs.
1902 Cox, Alexander G., Esq., Engineer-in-Chief's Office, Canton-Hankow Railway, Hankow, China.
1920 Cox, Major-Gen. Sir Percy Z., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., c/o Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, Mesopotamia.
1919 Cozens, J. W., Esq., 189, Queen's Gate, S.W.7.
1919 Crawshay, Edwin Hole, Esq., Ferneherst, The Park, Cheltenham.
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1904 Croydon Public Libraries, Central Library, Town Hall, Croydon.
1893 Curzon of Kedleston, The Right Hon. Earl, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.1.

1913 Dalgliesh, Percy, Esq., Guatemala, C.A.
1847 Dalton, Rev. Canon John Neale, C.V.O., C.M.G., 4, The Cloisters, Windsor.
1917 Damer-Powell, Lieut. J. W., R.N.R., H.M.S. "Irene Wray," Naval Base, Lowestoft.
1913 Dames, Mansel Longworth, Esq., Crichmere, Edgeborough Road, Guildford.
1899 Dampier, Gerald Robert, Esq., I.C.S., Dehra Dun, N.W.P., India.
1847 Danish Royal Navy Library (Marinens Bibliothek), Grönningen, Copenhagen, K.
1912 Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
1908 Darwin, Major Leonard, late R.E., 12, Egerton Place, S.W.3.
1920 Dealy, T. K., Esq., 19, rue Voltaire, au 2me, Grenoble, Isère, France.
1920 Dearing, F. Morris, Esq., American International Corpn., 120, Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
1894 De Bertodano, Baldemero Hyacinth, Esq., Cowbridge House, Malmesbury, Wilts.
1911 Delbanco, D., Esq., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.3.
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1893 Dijon University Library, Rue Monge, Dijon, Côte d'Or, France.
1918 Dominion Museum, The, Wellington, New Zealand.
1919 Douglas, Capt. H. P., C.M.G., R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.1.
1920 Douglas, W. Bruce, Esq., Messrs. W. H. & F. J. Horniman & Co., Ltd., 27 to 33, Wormwood Street, E.C.2.
1919 Dracopoli, J. H., Esq., Oak Hall, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
1919 Dracopoli, Mrs. K. H., Oak Hall, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
1899 Dresden Geographical Society (Verein für Erdkunde), Kleine Brüdergasse 21II, Dresden.
1902 Dublin, Trinity College Library.
1920 Dunlop, Capt. A. C., Netherland Legation, 42, Seymour Street, W.1.
1917 Durban Municipal Library, Natal (Mr. George Reyburn, Librarian).

1899 École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi, Indo Chine Française.
1913 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris.
1905 Edge-Partington, J., Esq., Wyngates, Burke's Rd., Beaconsfield.
1919 Edgell, Commander I. A., R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.1.
1892 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.
1847 Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
1920 Edwardes, H. S. W., Esq., Godshill, Fordingbridge, Hants.
1847 Edwards, Francis, Esq., 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.
1919 Edwards, J. Marsh, Esq., Church Hatch, Ringwood, Hants.
1913 Eliot, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., C.B., The University, Hong Kong.
1919 English, Ernest E., Esq., c/o The Eastern Telegraph Co., Gibraltar.
1906 Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
1917 Essex Institute, The, Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
1917 Evans, J. Fred, Esq., 65, I Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.

1910 Fairbrother, Colonel W. T., C.B., Indian Army, Bareilly, N.P., India.
1911 Fayal, The Most Noble the Marquis de, Lisbon.
1899 Fellowes Athenæum, 46, Millmont Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

1920 Fenton, A. H., Esq., The United Serdang Rubber Plantations, Ltd., c/o Harrisons & Crosfield, Ltd., Medan, Sumatra.
1920 Ferguson, Henry G., Esq., 2330, California Street, Washington, D.C.
1894 Fisher, Arthur, Esq., The Mazry, Tiverton, Devon.
1919 Fisher, Gordon, Esq., Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.1.
1896 Fitzgerald, Major Edward Arthur, 5th Dragoon Guards.
1914 FitzGibbon, F. J., Esq., c/o The Anglo-South American Bank, Old Broad Street, E.C.2.
1920 Fleming, Dr. G. W. T. H., Boddam S.O., Aberdeen.
1847 Foreign Office of Germany (Auswärtiges Amt), Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, W.
1893 Forrest, Sir George William, C.I.E., Rose Bank, Iffley, Oxford.
1902 Foster, Francis Apthorp, Esq., Edgartown, Mass., U.S.A.
1893 Foster, William, Esq., C.I.E., India Office, S.W.1.
1919 Frazer, Sir James G., c/o Mr. James Bain, 14, King William Street, Strand, W.C.2.
1920 Frere, Major A. G., c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, Ludgate Circus, London, E.C.
1920 Freshfield, Douglas W., Esq., D.C.L., 11, Hans Place, S.W.1.

1913 Gardner, Harry G., Esq., Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, Hankow, China.
1919 Gardner, Stephen, Esq., 662, West 12th Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1920 Gauntlett, R. M., Esq., 55, Penerley Road, Catford, S.E.6.
1847 George, Charles William, Esq., 51, Hampton Road, Bristol.
1920 Gibraltar Garrison Library.
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1920 Gilbert, W. L., Esq., 267, Calle 25 de Mayo, Buenos Aires.
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1847 Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.
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1920 Goddard, Miss Isobel G., The Ashes, Icklesham, Sussex.
1919 Goss, Lieut. C. Richard, 4, St. Alban's Mansions, Kensington Court Gardens, W.8.
1920 Goss, Mrs. George A., 30, Church Street, Waterbury, Conn., U.S.A.
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1920 Gostling, A. E. A., Esq., c/o Messrs. Scott & Hume, Maipu 73, Buenos Aires.
1847 Göttingen University Library, Göttingen, Germany.
1877 Gray, Sir Albert, K.C.B., K.C. (*President*), Catherine Lodge, Trafalgar Square, Chelsea, S.W.3.
1903 Greenlee, William B., Esq., 855, Buena Av., Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1920 Grievé, T., Esq., Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.
1899 Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
1847 Guildhall Library, E.C.2.
1887 Guillemard, Francis Henry Hill, Esq., M.A., M.D., The Old Mill House, Trumpington, Cambridge.
1920 Gwyther, Capt. H. J., Secretariat, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.
1919 Gwyther, J. Howard, Esq., 13, Lancaster Gate, W.2.

1910 Hackley Public Library, Muskegon, Mich, U.S.A.
1919 Haigh, Ernest V., Esq., C.B.E., Langholme, Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield.
1847 Hamburg Commerz-Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany.
1901 Hammersmith Public Libraries, Carnegie (Central) Library, Hammersmith, W.6.

1898 Hannen, The Hon. Henry Arthur, The Hall, West Farleigh, Kent.
1920 Hardwicke, Charles, Esq., Director, Serbian Relief Fund, Nish, Serbia.
1916 Harrington, S. T., Esq., M.A., Methodist College, St. John's, Newfoundland.
1906 Harrison, Carter H., Esq., 311, The Rookery, Chicago.
1919 Harrison, T. St. C., Esq., Central Secretariat, Lagos, Nigeria.
1905 Harrison, William P., Esq., 2837, Sunset Place, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
1920 Hart-Synnot, Brig.-Gen. A. H. S., D.S.O., Ballymoyer, White Cross, co. Armagh.
1847 Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1899 Harvie-Brown, John Alexander, Esq., Dunipace, Larbert, Stirlingshire.
1920 Hawkes, W. Blackburne, Esq., Tapah, Perak, Fed. Malay States.
1913 Hay, E. Alan, Esq., Bengeo House, Hertford.
1919 Hay, G. Goldthorp, Esq., 18, Stonebridge Park, Willesden, N.W.10.
1919 Heape, Bernard, Esq., Hartley, High Lane, via Stockport.
1887 Heawood, Edward, Esq., M.A., Church Hill, Merstham, Surrey (*Treasurer*).
1920 Hedley, Theodore F., Esq., 26, Beechwood Avenue, Darlington.
1899 Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg (Koestersche Buchhandlung)
1904 Henderson, George, Esq., 13, Palace Court, W.2.
1915 Henderson, Capt. R. Ronald, Little Compton Manor, Moreton-in-Marsh.
1920 Hill, H. Brian C., Esq., c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton & Co., Calcutta.
1917 Hinks, Arthur Robert, Esq., C.B.E., F.R.S., Sec. R.G.S., 1, Percy Villas, Campden Hill, W.8.
1874 Hippisley, Alfred Edward, Esq., 8, Herbert Crescent, Hans Place, S.W.1.
1920 Hobden, Ernest, Esq., c/o The Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Co., Ltd., Singapore, Straits Settlements.
1913 Hong Kong University, c/o Messrs. Longmans & Co., 38, Paternoster Row, E.C.4.
1899 Hoover, Herbert Clark, Esq., 1, London Wall Buildings, E.C.2.
1887 Horner, Sir John Francis Fortescue, K.C.V.O., Mells Park, Frome, Somerset.
1911 Hoskins, G. H., Esq., c/o G. & C. Hoskins, Wattle Street, Ultimo, Sydney, N.S.W.
1915 Howland, S. S., Esq., Ritz Hotel, W.1.
1890 Hoyt Public Library, East Saginaw, Mich., U.S.A.
1899 Hügel, Baron Anatole A. A. von, Curator, Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge.
1894 Hull Public Libraries, Baker Street, Hull.
1913 Humphreys, John, Esq., 69, Harborne Road, Edgbaston.
1920 Hutton, J. H., Esq., Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam.
1915 Hyde, Charles, Esq., 2 Woodbourne Road, Edgbaston.
1920 Hyderabad, The Nizam's Government State Library.

1912 Illinois, University of, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
1899 Im Thurn, Sir Everard, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., Cockenzie House, Preston Pans, East Lothian.
1847 India Office, St. James's Park, S.W.1. [8 COPIES.]
1899 Ingle, William Bruncker, Esq., 10 Pond Road, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1919 Inman, Arthur C., Esq., c/o G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2, West 45th Street, New York, U.S.A.
1919 Inman, Miss Helen M., 12, Sloane Terrace Mansions, S.W.1.

1892 Inner Temple, Hon. Society of the, Temple, E.C.4.
1916 Ireland, National Library of, Dublin.
1920 Jackson, Richard H., Esq., Wellington Lodge, Oldham.
1899 Jackson, Stewart Douglas, Esq., 61, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
1898 James, Arthur Curtiss, Esq., 39, East 69th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1907 Johannesburg Public Library, Johannesburg, South Africa.
1847 John Carter Brown Library, 357, Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
1920 John, Reginald, Esq., Box No. 76, Colombo, Ceylon.
1847 John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
1847 John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
1910 Jones, L. C., Esq., M.D., Falmouth, Mass., U.S.A.
1914 Jones, Livingston E., Esq., Germantown, Pa., U.S.A.
1919 Jourdain, Lieut.-Col. H. F. N., C.M.G., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1913 Jowett, The Rev. Hardy, Ping Kiang, Hunan, China.
1919 Joyce, Capt. T. Athol, British Museum, W.C.1.

1903 Kansas University Library, Lawrence, Kans., U.S.A.
1917 Kay, Richard, Esq., 1 Brazil Street, Manchester.
1887 Keltie, Sir John Scott, LL.D.
1919 Kempthorne, Major H. N., R.E., c/o Director of Trig. Survey, Military Siding, Nairobi, E.A. Protectorate.
1909 Kesteven, C. H., Esq., 2, Hungerford Street, Calcutta.
1899 Kiel, Royal University of, Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein.
1898 Kinder, Claude William, Esq., C.M.G., "Bracken," Churt, near Farnham, Surrey.
1890 King's Inns, The Hon. Society of the, Henrietta Street, Dublin.
1920 Kirkpatrick, Lieut.-Colonel A. R. Y., C.M.G., D.S.O., Kilternan Lodge, Kilternan, Co. Dublin.
1899 Kitching, John, Esq., Oaklands, Queen's Road, Kingston Hill, S.W.15.
1912 Koebel, W. H., Esq., Author's Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
1913 Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam.
1910 Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie. The Hague.

1920 Lang, William, Esq., Imperial Merchant Service Guild, The Arcade, Lord Street, Liverpool.
1899 Langton, J. J. P., Esq., 802, Spruce Street, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
1899 Larchmont Yacht Club, Larchmont, N.Y., U.S.A.
1913 Laufer, Berthold, Esq., Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
1920 Laycock, Major T. S., M.C., 88, Dunvegan Road, S.E.9.
1919 Leeds Central Public Library, Leeds.
1899 Leeds Library, 18, Commercial Street, Leeds.
1899 Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
1918 Le Hunte, Sir George R., G.C.M.G., Coombe Meadows, Ascot, Berkshire.
1893 Leipzig, Library of the University of Leipzig.
1912 Leland Stanford Junior University, Library of, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
1918 Lethbridge, Alan B., Esq., Stockwood House, Keynsham, Somerset.
1912 Lind, Walter, Esq., Finca Helvetia, Retalhuleu, Guatemala, C.A.
1847 Liverpool Free Public Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool.
1899 Liverpool, University of Liverpool.
1911 Loder, Gerald W. E., Esq., F.S.A., Wakehurst Place, Ardingly, Sussex.

1920 Logie, W. J., Esq., 90, Graham's Road, Falkirk.
1847 London Library, 14, St. James's Square, S.W.1.
1899 London University, South Kensington, S.W.7.
1920 Long, Arthur Tilney, Esq., C.B.E., Office of the Union Agent, Laurenço Marques, S. Africa.
1895 Long Island Historical Society, Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
1899 Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
1899 Lowrey, Sir Joseph, K.B.E., The Hermitage, Loughton, Essex.
1912 Luard, Colonel Charles Eckford, M.A., D.S.O., Bhopal Agency, Sehore, C.I.
1880 Lucas, Sir Charles Prestwood, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., 65, St. George's Square, S.W.1.
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